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[For information on norms and ethics as expressed in proverbs and folk wisdom, see 8: Collocott and Havea, Category 539.]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

LAW

I use the word "law" in reference to transgression of custom and punishment therefor. The combination of patriarchal and feudal ideas, coupled with the inequality of individuals, makes the study of Tongan jurisprudence very difficult. Perhaps the greatest difficulty arises from the modification of legal procedure resulting from the century of Euro-American influence, chiefly of the churches. No doubt the best picture is to be drawn from the accounts of voyagers, yet that is an imperfect picture. Such information as I gleaned firsthand is necessarily very fragmentary.

Certain tapu breaches were thought to bring with them supernatural consequences; certain others were punished at the order of the overlord. There was no judicial branch of government in ancient Tonga. Judges and police were lacking, except in so far as a chief might settle a case and his armed followers execute the judgment. Trials like those in Samoa before a parliamentary gathering seem not to have taken place in Tonga. A chief at times acted as arbiter and meted out punishment.

Anciently there were no jails and apprehension of a wrong-doer was followed immediately by punishment in one of three ancient forms: *haha* (beating), *hai* (leg and arm binding), and *tamatei* (execution); *hai* consisted of binding the arms straight behind the culprit or binding the legs, a punishment which lasted for two or three days.

Two Tongan words, *hia* and *angahala*, are translated as "sin," perhaps in the light of Biblical teachings. Anciently *hia* seems to have signified murder, or adultery with the wife of a man who was the equal or superior of the adulterer in rank. The word *angahala* has a much less definite meaning. It apparently signifies "fault, a habit or mode of action which is amiss," and also means prostitution.

Whether or not a murderer's family was jointly responsible with him for a killing was not definitely ascertained. One aged Vavau informant thought that only the murderer was responsible and was uncertain whether punishment was meted out directly by the injured family or only through the chief. One informant said that the murder of one commoner by another resulted in a vendetta between their respective families which continued until their chief or chiefs ordered it stopped. If a chief killed a commoner no blood vengeance followed, as a rule. If a chief ordered a commoner to kill another chief, it might or might not be done.

Assassinations and other executions for political reasons were exceedingly common in Tonga. Mariner records a series of executions ordered by his patron, Ulukalala II, and the accounts of the Tui Tonga give others. A very distinctive example is the assassination of the Tui Tonga Takalaua

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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coconut, but found that he had produced a most unsavory dish and had to throw it all away. He had merely wasted so much good coconut. 539 262 252 266

74. Ua ji ua pooi: Eating *ji* eating *pooi*.

The *pooi* is a preparation of food, which before the introduction of sugar used to be sweetened with the root of the *ji (Cordyline terminalis)*. If one ate up the *ji* beforehand he would have to go without the *pooi*. You cannot eat your cake and have it. 539 262 263

75. Umu toona e he vale: Food cooked by the fool. 539

Good food that has been spoiled by a bad cook; anything good that has been spoiled by bad treatment. 252

EATING AND DRINKING

76. Aho kai fonu: Day on which turtle is eaten. 539 262

The turtle is a luxury, hence day of treat. It is said that this expression originated with a love adventure of the handsome Lepuha, who lived at Leimatua in Vavau. This good-looking and amorous gentleman came in his wanderings to the house of a woman who lived at the back part of the island, and whose face was disfigured by ulceration. Lepuha had intercourse with the unfortunate woman, who said to him as he was about to depart, "This is a day on which turtle has been eaten." Lepuha ungallantly replied, "*Mavae lua*," that is, "Going away and vomiting," implying the disgust which he felt at having cohabited with so grievously disfigured a woman. This phrase, *Mavae lua*, is used proverbially for the after disgust one may feel at something he has done.

77. Mavae lua: Separating (and) vomiting. (See No. 76.)

78. Fakahali a vale: Making slip of foolish, that is, the foolish person's way of making food slip down. 539 264

Fakahali, making slide, means moderate eating, but the moderation of a foolish person, or of the improvident young, is to eat to repletion without a thought for the future or for anyone who may go hungry just beside him. Applied to eating the expression means to attend only to one's own appetite without regard for others or for the future. Used generally of improvident, foolish conduct, as of a man who is not a sailor going out by himself in a boat or of one who is not a carpenter undertaking to build a house. 183

79. Fakaua mea melie: Hungry for sweet things.

Baker renders: "To wish to eat sweet or superior food only." It might be used of one who desires only the good things of life.

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86. Kai-aji fakatuha umu: Diner-out correspondent with food. 539

A man who keeps his eyes open and regulates his visits to other people's homes to correspond well with the times when a meal is to be got. (Compare No. 187.) 574

87. Kai halafaki: Eating on the short-cut. 539

This is not a very satisfactory translation. The word *halafaki* means to go round by some other track and wait on ahead for those who are coming along the ordinary road. As applied to eating the idea is to take food before the regular meal comes on, and thus to get ahead of others, waiting with satisfied hunger for them to catch up. 264

88. Kai malo ta-foa: Eating kindness that wounds. 539

Indicates a kindness that is spoiled by the way in which it is done, as of one who makes a present of food to another but accompanies his gift with unkind remarks. The recipient may eat the food but he is wounded by what it said to him. So generally of apparent gratification with that which hurts. 431 578 576

89. Kai moakai kovi: Eat bad food. 539 264

Get into trouble, be in difficulties. 183

90. Kai mea vevela: Eat hot stuff, that is, to get into trouble.

91. Kai molie: Sweet food.

Used of that which is specially good, or of persons of unusual excellence. It is used of Goliath in the best translation of the Bible into Tongan (that of the late Dr. J. E. Moulton).

92. Kai umu aipe foi i he ngaue ae malohi: Coward ever eating food through the work of the strong. 539 264 571

One of those bitter plaints, common the world over, of one man doing the work and braving the danger whilst another reaps the benefits.

93. Kaikai afua: Eating delicately, with special likes and dislikes. 539 264 843

Especially refers to the desire of a pregnant woman for particular foods, and used proverbially of conduct like that of a pregnant woman, or befitting a pregnant woman.

94. Koe kai ika pe ae jio ki motu: All the fish eating is looking at (or thinking about) an island. 539 484

If one stays at one of the small out-islands he will probably be well placed to get as much fish as he wants. Should one wish to go away for a holiday on an island, and enjoy the plentifulness of fish, but finds him- 262 152

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539 484 262 152 self unable to make the trip, as for example, through lack of a boat, it is said of him that all the fish he will be able to get will be by thinking about the island; he will have a purely imaginative treat. The expression is used of unsatisfied desires generally, as of a man who wishes to marry a particular woman but can get no further in his courtship than going to visit her and seeing where she lives.

539 264 183 **95. Koto kai a kui:** All the eating of a blind man; the reckless eating of a blind man.

Used of that which is done recklessly, ignorantly, like the blind man who cannot see to choose his food, but eats what his hand lights on.

96. Kuhu te elo pato te emo: Puffing at the stink smacking in licking, that is, to utter the wry-faced "pugh" characteristic of one offended by a bad smell, and at the same time to make the clicking or smacking noise of one who is licking up food.

Used of those who eat bad food in spite of its offensiveness.

[197] [192] Linguistically this is very interesting. The word "*te*" is apparently the article found in Maori and many other Polynesian languages (Hawaiian, *ke*) although not found, at least as an ordinary article, in either Tongan or Samoan.

97. Longo moe fatu: Silent with the belly.

Applied to one who sits silent under rebuke, making no effort to exculpate himself, but whilst he is thus tacitly accepting the blame of what is charged against him, he is also enjoying its benefits. The original idea is that of one who has eaten to full satisfaction where he had no right to eat. When reprimanded he sits silent accepting the blame, but he sits silent with a full belly.

539 262 554 **98. Pani puaka pani fonu:** Smeared with pig, smeared with turtle.

The pig and the turtle are favorite and valuable delicacies and will be found more in the abodes of the chiefs than anywhere else. For anyone to carry about on his person the smell of this rich fare is a sign that he is a person of some consequence.

539 829 **99. Nifo tuu he vale:** Teeth in a foolish man.

Good instruments thrown away on one who cannot use them. The wise man procures food for his teeth to chew, but the fool is unable to make this provision.

539 461 **100. Pipiko moe nifo:** Lazy with the teeth, lazy although there are teeth.

Men have teeth with which to eat, and hands with which to work and to get that which will satisfy the teeth. This is used of a lazy man

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who refuses to work and get that which will meet the legitimate demands of the teeth. 539 461

101. Teu ke hihi kae ola: About to cut out but gnawing. 539 264 576

This refers primarily to the coconut. A nut has been split open in order to cut the flesh out with a knife when someone greedily seizes it and chews the flesh out with his teeth, a thing befitting an animal or bad-mannered man. May be applied to a thing which is about to be carried out in a proper, decent way, but is actually done in an unseemly manner.

PRESENTING, BEGGING, KEEPING FOOD

102. Kai pe lea: Just eating speech. 539 264 554

Used of a man for whom there is no portion when the food presented to a chief is divided and distributed, but to whom the chief speaks. The individual thus honored by the chief will feel that he has after all some part in the ceremony although he has not received a present of food.

103. Koe ma ka te mate: Ashamed, but I'll die. 539 431 735

Used in the first place of begging food. What is the use of being ashamed to ask for food, seeing that if you do not get it you will die, or be very hungry. (It is very common in Tongan to say that one is *mate*, dead, of hunger, thirst, of desire for some thing, without indicating any extreme stress.) This expression is applied generally to making requests of any kind.

104. Motu ka nae navei: Broken but it was bound. 539 415 482

Navei are small cords passed through the top of a basket, especially of food, and fastened round the pole on which it is slung. These cords are not the main lashing, which is a long cord or vine passing several times round the basket and pole. The idea is that although the large lashing has been adjusted yet it is well to avoid risks by adding these auxiliary bindings. The expression has this sense of making assurance doubly sure. Sometimes the phrase is rendered, *Motu ka nae kavei*, which has the same meaning as the above except that the *kavei* is the main lashing. This, which seems to be more familiar to the younger generation of Tongans, may be applied to a mishap which has not been the effect of negligence. There has been an accident but those whose business it was to look after the matter in question evidently did their work carefully and thoroughly. [829]

105. Puia a kaiaji: Sending a forager. 539 156 571

When one is sent to procure food for a party he will be the first to eat of what he has obtained. So used of one who is the first to reap the advantage of something that he has been sent to do, or to get.

106. Ua ma kae mae ma: Eat *ma* but be careful of *ma*. 539 262 183 571

Ma is the food made from fermented fruit. This expression indicates literally one who has a supply of *ma* of his own, but is very sparing

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539 of it, and when he wants to eat, begs food from someone else. Generally
262 of selfish behavior of this sort. (Compare No. 134.)
183
571

107. Tufa kau tufa: Distribute. I'll distribute.

539 Primarily refers to one who is not satisfied with the share which falls
431 to him in a distribution of food or goods, but who promises himself to even
571 things up when his turn comes to direct the apportionment of gifts. Go ahead now with your distribution and give me this miserable little portion, but the time will come when I have my turn at dividing and it will be a small gift that you will get then. Thence used generally of tit for tat.

108. Tuku umu fakavajivaji: To leave food in the Vajavaji way.

Vajivaji is the name of a people in Fiji, who when they take a present of food to anyone have the custom of waiting to get a portion for themselves. This has become proverbial in Tonga for giving a thing and then asking for a portion of it.

539 **109. Umu pouli kae ai hoota:** Food in the dark but with a friend
264 there.
572

When food is taken up from the oven in the dark there will be more or less of a scramble in which some are likely to come off badly, but a man who has been so placed that he cannot very well look after himself will yet fare very well if he has a well placed friend who is mindful of his interests. It is applicable to those cases, very numerous in civilized as in more primitive societies, where in the distribution of favors the influential man on the spot remembers his less advantageously situated friend.

539 **110. Uto taunga mo kuma oku ua:** Coconut pith put away to
262 keep and two rats.

The *uto* is the sweet spongy substance inside a coconut which has germinated. It is frequently eaten, as a sweetmeat rather than as a regular food, and was particularly used to pacify children. Should some of this be put away to keep for another occasion and one rat find it out there will probably be something left over for the original owners, but if two or more rats get to work on it the whole will soon be finished. So the expression is used of anything which the owner is reserving for himself, and which other people, not merely a single person whose appetite might be satisfied while there is still something left, but a number, find out and wholly consume

DOING OF TASKS. CRITICISM

539 **111. Fai faka-muomua-nima:** Do with front of hand.
461

Doing a task half-heartedly, touching it, as it were, only with the tips of the fingers instead of grasping it heartily and sincerely with the whole hand (Compare No. 416.)

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112. Fakamohe mei ulu: To put to rest from head. 539 461

Used of that which is near at hand; a task that must be accomplished in the immediate future. The picture is that of a man who lies down to sleep with his working waist-cloth or his tools placed near at hand, both as a reminder of his task and to be easy of access when he awakes in the early morning. It is also used of something which is lying just ahead in the journey of life. *Fakamohe*, put to rest, besides being used for example, of putting a child to sleep, is also used of placing, putting, inanimate things. This latter sense fits best with the context of the phrase.

113. Fakaanga i hiku mamao: Criticise (something) at extreme distance. 539 183 626

An admonition that if you want to offer criticisms or advice upon anything, choose something that is well within your own experience and knowledge. Keep quiet about what you don't understand.

114. Fakaanga i tefito'i niu: Criticise at the foot of the coconut tree.

One who stays on the ground but is lavish with his advice to the man who has climbed the tree. Generally of the man who stays out of a job but has plenty of talk to offer to the one who has gone into it.

115. Fili akau vaivai: Picking weak tree. 539 461

Choosing an opponent in a contest who is not very formidable; generally looking out for a soft thing, like the woodman who picks an easy tree to cut.

116. Fokotuutuu ae fefie hu: To stack up almost rotten firewood.

A pile of such wood may make a considerable display, but when used will be quickly consumed. It will prove in fact to be a big stack of hollow pretension.

117. Hala i tangata ia: Being without man, that is, there is no man to carry out what is desirable. 539 626

A certain work languishes because it has no man fit for it. The expression is used also in rebuke of someone who misbehaves himself where there is nobody able to check him. You misbehave yourself in this way, but only because you are without a man, because there is nobody here to punish you.

118. Muomua puke fue: Grasping *fue* in front. 539 483 461 [285]

The *fue* is a creeping plant with strong tough stem, used anciently as a rope for drawing heavy loads. When a team of men was dragging a load the man in front just held the line and did very little of the actual

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539 386 over the branch of a tree so that the mat forms a loop hanging down to a convenient height. A pole is put through the loop, and manned (or "womanned") by several people who turn the pole round, thus twisting the strainer up tight and expressing the pigment which runs into a receptacle placed to catch it. This mat in the course of twisting is subjected [461 626] to a great strain but is hard to break. The expression is used of a lazy person who, although he is the subject of many admonitions and rebukes, is yet very hard to shift.

539 287 426 **129. Maamaa a hiki papa:** Shifting the tapa board is light.

The *papa* is the long hollow board, or rather wooden structure, used in printing designs on the native cloth. It is fairly heavy and requires two or three people to lift it about. The idea of this expression is that one who wants to borrow one of these printing boards for cloth making in his own home finds no difficulty about securing the necessary help to lift it, but when it comes to returning it to its owners there are constant difficulties in the way.

539 286 735 **130. Nae li ki fe hoo geeji kahi?** Where did you throw your *kahi* shell?

The *kahi* shell (*Arca scapha*) is used as a scraper in the preparation of the native cloth. This phrase is a reply to one who goes to beg cloth from another. What did you do with the shells for making scrapers that you have not got a stock of cloth for yourself? The expression is not confined to those who beg cloth, but is extended generally to those who find themselves in want of a commodity which they might reasonably be expected to supply for themselves.

539 386 193 571 **131. Tai e oko atu:** The coloring matter will run on, that is, the coloring matter with which one part of the cloth is stained is that with which the adjoining part will also be colored.

This expression is used as a reproof and warning to those who jeer at the misfortunes which have come upon another. Just as the color on one section of the cloth is repeated on the next and each part in turn comes to be stained, so will he who today scoffs at the afflictions of another find himself in his turn involved in the like misfortunes. It is applied especially to the infirmities of old age. The strong man may laugh today at the weaknesses of age, but his own turn will come.

539 386 517 **132. Tuu tai:** Coloring standing, that is, a thing in which is the coloring matter used in staining the native cloth.

This phrase is not properly classed as a proverbial expression but is always written and felt as a single word, meaning beautiful, handsome, whether of physical feature or of conduct.

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539 285 cealed in this space and apparently lost; it is not really lost, however, but is there all the time. Used of that which seems to be lost but is not really so.

139. Papata ka nae lalanga: Coarse textured but woven.

This is an image from mat-weaving. Although the weaving may not be first class yet it will give greater satisfaction to the one whose own handiwork it is than will another mat of better construction. The satisfaction of accomplishment. [183]

LAND CREATURES

539 825 **140. Foki e kuli ki he ene lua:** The dog returns to its vomit. Probably, almost certainly, a mere adaptation of the Biblical expression. (compare No. 150).

141. Hange ha kuli fie jikoa: Like a dog that wants to defecate.

A dog who happens to be shut in a room and wants to defecate will run anxiously from door to door seeking a way out. Applied to a person who cannot keep still in a room, but keeps shuffling about and changing his seat.

142. Hange ha kuli viku: Like a wet dog.

The dog after bathing in the sea runs and jumps about with evident marks of the greatest pleasure. Used of one bustling and running about, and obviously bubbling with joy.

143. Mohemohe ae kuli pea fafangu: The dog is sleeping and is waked.

This is exactly like our English "Let sleeping dogs lie." The expression is said to have been first used with respect to a great man-eating dog named Fuhibubuta, which lived in a cave at Motuliki in Fiji. Tradition has it that this dog, after having destroyed all the inhabitants on his island except two brothers and their sister who eluded him by hiding in the bush, was killed by Maui Kijikiji. Another legend attributes the exploit to Muni. The origin of the expression has also been referred to the dog which formed part of the temple furniture of the god Pulotu Katoa (Whole of Pulotu) in eastern Tongatabu.

144. Hange ha pili efihia: Like a squeezed lizard.

The *pili* is the pretty little blue and green lizard so common in Tonga. He is slenderly made and if squeezed, as for instance, by being caught between two sticks, would present a very attenuated figure. Used of a very thin person. [824]

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539 825 231 152 **153. Hange ha pulu kuo ta-halai:** Like an ox that is struck badly.

Obviously modern, since the introduction of cattle. The picture is that of a slaughterer who has missed his aim and only wounded the animal. The ox in its pain bellows aloud. Applied to one who laments or weeps without restraint, at the top of his voice.

539 825 231 183 **154. Taupuji hosi:** Touching horse.

It is possible that the latter part of the first word is the introduced name for cat, *pusi*, in which case the literal translation would probably be, Cat touching (perhaps fighting) horse. This, however, is by no means certain. The phrase is applied directly to a child taking liberties with a horse, with the chance of earning a kick by his temerity. It is also used generally of running into unnecessary danger. The expression dates from the introduction of horses and would seem to have originated when horses were still new to the Tongan people, and objects of more or less awe. [492] The Tongans of today, even quite young boys, are fearless riders.

539 825 571 183 **155. Ji namu tae feongoongoi:** To kill a mosquito without giving warning (more literally, without mutual understanding).

If one sees a mosquito on a companion and gives it a slap the kindly office will perhaps not be appreciated if the blow takes the human recipient too much by surprise. Instead of gratitude anger may be evoked. So one must be sensible about the way in which even the best meant services are rendered.

539 825 **156. Ngali ha liha:** Like a nit.

Rather an abusive way of alluding to small things.

157. Oji e neveneve: The *neveneve* will be finished.

A phrase meaning very many. The *neveneve* is the nest and young of one of the spiders found in Tonga. The nest when opened is always [802] found filled with a very numerous progeny, and so it is said of a great multitude that one will sooner finish counting the *neveneve* than be able to reckon so large a number.

158. Oku lau pe e he mokohula oku ikai ha ua oe lalo takapau: The earwig reckons there is no place like under the mat.

The earwig lives under the mat and if disturbed runs back there for [829] shelter. To him this is the finest place in the world. Used proverbially of out-back folk who have no conception of anything finer than their own restricted surroundings.

539 825 571 **159. Tuakoi a ofato:** Mutual support of the *ofato*.

The *ofato* is a grub that makes its dwelling in rotten wood. In the Tongan group it is apparently found only, or chiefly, in Niua Foou. These grubs, however close together they may lie, never quite touch and will be

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oned rather to the father (the head) than to the mother (the tail). Instead of the word *hiku, mahi,* which means the tail, is sometimes used. 539 825 592

201. Hola ae fai kae tuku ae foto: The sting-ray has gone but the barb is left. 539 825

When the sting-ray strikes with its tail the barb that enters the body struck is commonly broken off and left in the wound. The fish may swim away but the poisonous, wounding, painful barb is left. Those who have caused suffering may have gone away but the mischief wrought by them still persists. The evil men do lives after them. 829 571

202. Ika faao: Predatory fish; fish that prey on other fish.

It is explained as primarily relating to a fish which comes and seizes a smaller fish from the hook of a man who has caught it, thus violently capturing the fisherman's property. This is well in keeping with the literal meaning of *faao,* but the expression is used generally of one creature which preys on another. [226]

203. Jii a maanga ika maka: Small mouthful (but) rock fish. 539

The Tongan words *ika maka,* translated "rock fish," indicate fish found under the rocks, at the bottom of the sea, or far from land, and which are of superior quality to those found close inshore or near the surface. The phrase means, therefore, that which is small in quantity but of good quality. (Compare No. 85.) 825 183

204. Lakulaku tee-feke: Handling black secretion of octopus. 539

Although the black secretion found in the head of the octopus is eaten with the rest of the fish, it is handled gingerly on account of aversion to its color. The expression is applied particularly to one who is not expert in preparing kava. Instead of grasping the strainer or kava firmly and masterfully the inexpert operator handles the materials diffidently and awkwardly. 226 262 272

205. Luki tenifa i hono tahi: Challenge a shark in his own sea. 539

This species of shark, the *tenifa,* is large and fierce and will attack men. The folly of jumping into the water just where he is and challenging him to single combat is obvious. So the phrase indicates the foolish effrontery of challenging one to contest in that wherein he is superior or under circumstances which give him a marked advantage. 226 571 825

206. Mohemohe a tenifa: Dozing of *tenifa.* 539

The *tenifa,* a large fierce shark, may doze, but when he wakes he wakes to violent activity. Applied to one who is spasmodic; he is inert at one time but at another is working with fierce energy. (See Nos. 207 and 208.) 825 157

207. Mohe faka-tenifa: Sleep *tenifa* fashion; *tenifa*-like sleep.

The shark *tenifa* is a very long and sound sleeper; his slumbers sometimes lasting for a day or more. Applied to people who sleep long and soundly. [513]

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539 825 226 It is said that a man of Vavau out one day in a canoe saw a *tenifa* lying asleep below the surface of the sea. He dived and fastened a rope to the shark's tail, returned to his boat, which he overturned and sat on the upturned bottom. He then waked the shark, or else it waked of its own accord, and let it drag the boat wherever it would till at length it was exhausted. He then was able to get it ashore where the people killed it and probably ate it. This story is vouched for as true and there is no reason to doubt it.

539 825 157 **208. Hange ha tenifa:** Like a *tenifa*.

Applied to persons of fierce, destructive temperament.

539 226 **209. Mata ika fai ki he pupua:** Looking at fish in a whirl-pool.

Fish in the deep swirling waters found both in holes in the reefs and in places out at sea will be very hard to get, however longingly one may gaze at them. The expression is used of something that one desires but is unable to obtain.

539 825 571 **210. Tafitafi o:** Sweeping *o*.

The *o* is a small fish of considerable repute and evidently energetic and daring. When this fish appears the other little fishes in the vicinity make for shelter; he sweeps the sea clear. When a great man appears the smaller fry quietly disperse.

539 825 578 **211. Tau ae ika taane:** Fight of great fish, as of sharks or swordfish.

When battle is joined between these strong fierce monsters of the deep the sea is churned into foam; the contest is long and stern. So used of the struggles of redoubtable champions.

539 825 **212. Tau ae lei moe tofuaa:** The whale's tooth befits the whale.

A big thing becomes a big person.

183 **213. Te leleva te pokumei:** *Leleva* floating, *pokumei* floating.

539 825 829 The *leleva* and the *pokumei* are two sorts of fish, of which the *leleva* is held in high esteem but the *pokumei* is comparatively disregarded. The phrase is used of people of little importance making preparations for anything in imitation of those who cut a bigger figure. For example, it might be spoken pleasantly to children who want to go out anywhere because they see their elders about to go.

FISHING

539 226 **214. Ai ke mahae pea toki pena:** Let (it) be torn and mended afterwards.

Refers primarily to a fishing net. Go on using it as much as you like and if any damage is done to it, it can easily be repaired. Employed generally of other things besides the fishing net, but with the same meaning.

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239. Unga toho ngeeji: Hermit crab dragging shell.

The hermit crab, burdened as he is with the shell of some other creature, makes only slow progress when he moves. This expression is used of one who is slow in his work or movements.

240. Koe loli foki e vau: The sea-slug (*Holothuria atra*) anyway will be scraped.

This sea-slug is found in great numbers on the reefs; before it is eaten its outer bitter skin is scraped off. If those who go out on the reef for shell-fish and the like fail in finding anything else they are sure to be able to get some sea-slugs to scrape. Used of conversation which failing of topics comes round to some thread-bare subject or well-worn scandal.

241. Pulou kema: Veiled with a clam-shell.

Used to one who is ashamed to make a request. It is like saying "put a clam-shell over your face so that it cannot be seen and then beg for what you want." Also used of one who is very ready at begging things from others. He is as though he had no shame, as though his face were always shielded from observation. (Compare No. 395.)

242. Tafola vetevete afi: *Tafola* scattering fire.

The *tafola* is a kind of crab which is cooked by being thrown alive into the embers and whose death agony is marked by violent struggles which scatter the fire. The expression is used of a disobedient child who apparently makes a moral dispersal of his elders' commands analogous to the displacing of the fire by the luckless crab.

243. Takanga a pipi mo kahi: Companionship of the *pipi* and *kahi*.

The *pipi* and the *kahi* are two shell-fish which are often found together, but the *kahi* devours the *pipi*. It is like the companionship of a simpleton with a sharper who fleeces him. Baker translates the phrase: "To make a pet or comrade of one who will cause trouble or pain." (Compare No. 47.)

244. Tanu a uu: The burying of the robber crab, or the robber crab buries himself.

The robber crab (*Birgus latro*), burrows into the sand and buries himself, often for months at a time. He remains under ground so long that one might think he was dead but one day he comes again to the surface. So used of a thing that is long out of sight but at length comes again to light.

245. Tonuhia ae kaloaa ka koe vaka: The *kaloaa* is in the right but it is the boat.

The *kaloaa* is a shell-fish (*Arca scapha*?) which does not move about, unlike the boat which goes and comes at will. So if any disagreement

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539 225 183 arises between them the blame should fall not on the stationary *kaloaa* but on the boat which went to the place where the *kaloaa* lives.

246. Utu tahi moe alaala too: Carrying seawater and rummaging for the *too*, a kind of shell-fish.

Literally this indicates one who has been to the sea to bring water and while there has taken the opportunity to do a little shell fishing. It is applied to one who while ostensibly occupied about some task, or in doing some errand, has taken the opportunity presented by this job of doing some private business. An illustration of it is a person apparently very willing to go on an errand for another, but whose real reason for going is the opportunity that will be given to meet someone whom he is anxious to see.

SHIPS AND SAILING

539 501 **247. Faka-fotu-la:** Appearing by sail.

The appearance of the sail of a boat too far out at sea for her hull to be distinguished is not always a safe guide in estimating the size of the vessel, as little ships sometimes have big sails. This is said to have been notably the case with the old Tongan canoe called the *tongiaki*.

539 502 **248. Fakahua kae paea pe:** Tacking but just drifting.

A sea expression meaning a boat which is beating up against the wind but making little headway, being drifted out of her course by currents [461] or waves. Applied to a man who is working against obstacles but whose efforts are not meeting with much success.

539 431 **249. Fakato vaka a Kupolu:**

We have not been able to get any explanation of this phrase. The meaning given by Baker is, "To give and take again by force." (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 297.) The literal meaning seems to be, "Handing over a boat of (or by) Kupolu," and probably there is connected with it a story of a boat given to the people of Upolu in Samoa, or given by them to someone else, and then taken back by the original owner.

539 501 **250. Fakatou katea:** Both *katea*.

The *katea* is the larger of the two canoes in the Tongan double boat. If both canoes are large and capacious so that scarcely any distinction can [593] be made between them they might be described as both *katea*. The expression is applied in various ways, as of a well mated couple, or generally of two things which are both good and useful of their kind.

539 502 **251. Foa kau tuu:** Smash. I'll stand, that is, stand safely on the shore.

Used of a boat in danger near the land the crew of which determine to let her drive on shore regardless of rocks or breakers. The boat will

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539 505 **258. Kehe a Tonga nae folaua kae kitenoa ai a Eua:** It was Tonga to which the voyage was being made and the appearance of Eua was of no account.

When boats are making for Tongatabu the high island of Eua shows up before the mainland is seen, but although Eua appears yet it is Tongatabu to which the boat is sailing and where she finally anchors. When one is in pursuit of some object the turning up of other things is a mere incident. This seems to be confined in its application to the case of a woman who falsely supposes that visits are being paid by a man to her when in reality they are paid to another lady living in the same place. The close association into which the lover is brought with the second girl is a mere incident of his courtship of the first.

539 502 **259. Ki ama tae alomua:** "To leeward" without being the man in the bow.

When two or more men are paddling the native canoe it is the duty of the foremost to give sailing directions, typified by "*ki ama*," "towards the outrigger or leeward canoe." Anyone who was not the bow man, and yet presumed to give instructions to the crew, would fall under the rebuke of this expression.

539 505 183 **260. Kite faka-fonua mounga:** In sight like mountainous country.

A mountain appears to the ship far out at sea but it is a long time before it is reached. A thing that appears but it is in reality far off and takes long to reach.

261. Koe mata mama: The chief leak.

In a boat which has filled and sunk there may be little leaks which in themselves would not have caused the disaster, but there is one big leak which is the real cause of the trouble. Generally of that which has been the fundamental reason of catastrophe.

539 502 571 **262. Laukau he tauala oe jiana kehe:** To be proud of another chap's coming up to the wind.

A metaphor from navigation, *tauala* being to luff up into the wind. Employed of the useless pride of one man in the achievements of another with which he himself has had nothing to do.

539 501 **263. Limua ae vaka:** The boat is covered with seaweed; that is, the boat has been neglected and left in the sea without use or without being hauled up for cleaning.

Applied to that which is suffering from long neglect and disuse, in the same way as we say in English that a thing is rusty.

539 505 **264. Lujia ki taulanga:** Weather-beaten to harbor.

The vessel although storm-tossed and battered has at length made port safely.

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has succeeded in seizing it. Generally of one who has had a narrow escape. To be exposed to danger (Baker). 539 501

276. Po fakafitaa uli: Night, persisting through difficulties (with) steering. 539 502 461 183

Literally applied to a boat making her way through storm and darkness; the steering of the vessel is rendered extremely difficult but the sailor sticks bravely to his task, and in spite of difficulty and peril, the vessel holds on her course. Applied generally to hard, arduous tasks, especially with the idea of going through with them, refusing to be daunted.

277. Punufuu hage ha fuu vaka Vavau: Obstructing like a great Vavau boat. 539 133 183

It is said that a boat coming from Vavau to Haapai was unlucky enough to run on one of the reefs there blocking the opening which was the entrance to the anchorage at that spot. The expression is applied, for example, to one who enters a room and plants himself down in front of the door.

278. Ta e lango kei mamao: Cut the slips still at a distance, that is, when the occasion for its use is still at a distance. 539 504 183

Lango, rendered here by slips, is a timber for raising anything on like the timbers on which a boat is pulled up out of the water or launched. The slips on which a boat is launched is probably the timber specifically indicated in this expression. The meaning is to have the preparations for launching all made beforehand so as not to waste time about it when the day comes to put the vessel into the water. Generally, to prepare well ahead for anything.

279. Takanga a tongiaki: A *tongiaki* in company. 539

The *tongiaki* is one of the old sailing canoes of Tonga, not so large or seaworthy as the more familiar *kalia*. A couple of these canoes might sail along in company in fair weather but if a storm sprang up neither could rely much on the other for assistance. They had neither the size nor the qualities to make them very serviceable companions in distress; in fact each would be hard enough put to it to secure her own safety. So used of fair-weather friends. 501 502 572 571

280. Takanga enau fohe: Mates (at) their oar; perhaps, their oars are mates. 539 461 501 502

The Tongan sailing canoes had two, sometimes three, steering oars. In calm weather one man apiece sufficed for these oars but in storm more would be required. This phrase indicates that the men at the oars, whether one at each or more, are well matched in skill and so the steering is done well and harmoniously. Men who are all capable workmen laboring together and carrying out their task ably and agreeably.

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539 461 561 562 **281. Tangata e taha oe vaka:** One man in the boat.

Only one able-bodied man on the job; all the rest are women and children or old men. Everything on the shoulders of this one man.

539 501 534 **282. Tata tuli vaka:** Beating (of the native drum) chasing boat.

It was common for the sailing canoes to have a drum on board with which arrivals and departures were announced. When two boats were racing and one was on the point of overtaking the other the drum on the overtaking boat was beaten in a particular way. (There were many different ways of beating the drums in accordance with the purpose for which they were sounded.) This beat of approaching victory naturally spurred [46] the crew to their highest efforts. So of the exultant energy which is put into a task which is on the point of being carried through to a successful conclusion.

539 571 264 [501] **283. Ta tefito mei ama:** Strike root from the leeward canoe.

This expression, which means to kill a man or woman for food, does not seem to have passed into proverbial use. Roots are the stand-by in times of famine. In the leeward canoe were mostly found the passengers, largely women, who were not occupied in the working of the vessel. To strike a root from the leeward canoe, therefore, was to replenish the larder by a foray amongst the passengers.

The phrase occurs in the tale of the voyage to Tonga from Fiji of Tui Motuliki, the son of Sinailele and the bones of the two Maui, Atalanga and Kijikiji, accompanied by the chief of Bau, Nokelevu. Each day during the voyage when it was reported to Nokelevu that the oven was hot he would order his people to strike a root from the leeward canoe and a man would thereupon be slain and eaten.

539 571 183 **284. Tefua a vaka Lautala:** Gathering together of the boats of Lautala.

This proverb does not seem to be any longer in use. Baker renders it: "Clever hands gathered together at any work," in accordance with a present-day explanation that it indicates things not large but valuable and strong.

Lautala is the name of an anchorage or beach on the island of Haano in the Haapai group. If this is the Lautala referred to it would seem to have been a place noted for boat-building or seamanship. An informant who has Fijian blood in him referred the expression to the island of Lautala near Suva in Fiji. This is but a small island, and he explained the phrase as probably meaning that when the boats of Lautala are gathered together their utmost might is a thing of no account to the powerful chiefs in the neighboring localities. There does not seem much support for this interpretation, but the reference to the Fijian islet may be correct, especially if its people were famed as boat-builders, a matter about which we [48] have no information. Tongans frequently get boats from Fiji. For the [301] meaning "small but valuable" compare Nos. 85 and 203.

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285. Toki tau ae vaka e: 539 505

It is difficult to render this proverb literally. As nearly as possible it would be "The boat has but now reached land," but more in accord with the nuance of the Tongan phrase would be an appreciative "My word, the boat has made land at last. It is illustrated by a boat which has struck heavy weather and been forced to run for shelter to some port other than that for which she is making. At last, however, she is able to make the right harbor; the passengers and crew can go ashore for now they have really made the land and are not as before merely seeking a temporary shelter where they do not wish to be.

286. Tuai mei uta: Slow from the land.

The idea is that of delay in a place where one is comfortably placed and has occupation. One may keep a boat waiting while he is seeing to his affairs on shore, but there is more sense in spending time in a place where one has resources at his disposal than in wasting it in the condition of helplessness in which men find themselves at sea.

287. Tuku mo fai la: Letting down and making sail. 539 504 461

A busy port where boats are constantly coming and going. One boat no sooner comes to an anchorage and lowers her sail than another leaves her moorings and hoists her sail. Refers to that which is always busy and on the move. No sooner is one job finished than another is started, like a boat which accomplishes one voyage only to shortly commence another trip.

288. Tuu e la mo poupou: The sail standing with support. 539 501 183

In the Tongan sailing canoe a support was used to strengthen the mast. The sense of the phrase is to take every precaution; not only hoist your sail but see to it that it stands as firmly as possible. Applied generally with this meaning of doing everything to secure stability, success, safety.

289. Uta lea i vaka: Land speaking in boat. 539 502 829

A landsman offering advice or giving orders in a boat.

290. Vaka ki ua: (Making a) boat of neck or shoulders. 539 505 482

The boat is the means of carrying burdens but inland a boat is of no use, so that the neck or shoulders have to be used for this purpose.

291. Vakavaka mua: First boat. 539 571 521

The picture is that of a fast-sailing boat which out-distances other boats and reaches harbor first. Applied to one who is ever ready to speak. Before anyone else can say anything he thrusts in his advice or opinion.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS

292. Aho faka-ua: Double day. 539 821

Used of those times of the month when the moon is so bright that, even after the sun has set, there is sufficient light to perform outside tasks, go journeys, and the like.

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539 821 461 183 **293. Mokomoko aho:** Coolness (of) day.

This indicates the coolness which precedes the dawn, and is thus a harbinger of day. It is used to encourage those who are getting towards the end of a task. Persevere, be of good heart, we are close to daylight, we have nearly finished.

539 821 **294. To lelei ae ataata:** The dusk falling well, "The sun setting in a clear sky" (Baker).

A sign of fair weather; has the same applications as similar expressions in English.

539 821 571 829 **295. Afa ka e tofu:** Hurricane but there will be calm.

An exhortation to people in hardship not to make their present difficulties an excuse for neglecting the kindnesses which men owe to each other. The present adversity may make it difficult to do a kindness to a neighbor, but prosperity will return and then the neglected opportunities of showing good-will will be remembered with shame.

539 821 **296. Fakatofutofu kae hiko:** Calm but about to blow; apparently well but again falling upon evil.

The expression originates with the hurricane. As the wind veers there is a calm; after this interval the wind blows again from another quarter with as great violence as before. The word *hiko* translated above as "blow" has perhaps the signification of moving on to another quarter. [524] In the game of *lafo* this word is used of a disc which passes another and lies nearer to the scoring-line.

297. Hange ho aho tafitonga: Like a clear bright day (literally day swept by the south wind).

[157] Applied to persons of open, serene countenance.

298. Matafi e tonga ho finangalo: May the south wind sweep your mind; may your mind be serene and unruffled.

[157] The translation given here is probably literally correct but *tafitonga*, which seems literally to mean "swept by the south wind," is felt and written as a single word meaning "clear, serene," and is constantly used of fine weather, and figuratively of the mind.

299. Hange ha aho tuutuu taufa: Like a day of intermittent gale.

[157] A day that is neither consistently fine nor uninterruptedly stormy. Applied to persons and things which show a mingling of various characteristics.

300. Hiko hiko puku: Blow, blow short.

[183] Refers primarily to the wind blowing in short squalls following quickly one another. Used of things good or bad following quickly one after

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another but none of them enduring long. The same expression is also used, for example, for the rattling of the lid on a pot of boiling water.

301. Kai tae tala: Eating without telling.

Apparently this indicates primarily one who quietly takes food and eats it without inviting anyone to share it with him, or perhaps one who takes and eats food that belongs to another without saying anything to the owner. The expression is used now only of a wind that comes up suddenly without warning, although in this sense, of course, it is capable of a wide range of metaphorical employment.

302. Lau matangi fai i fale: Reckoning wind done in house.

Statements made by those who have not taken the measures necessary to ensure that their opinion is worth hearing.

303. Tokelau i fale: North in house.

Used of one who sitting inside a house talks about the wind, that it is north or south, without going outside to see how it actually is. So used of the man who freely gives his opinion about matters whose true state he has not the means to ascertain.

304. Toka mono agai: Prepared with (for ?) its opposite.

A wind which blows in one direction but is certain to go around to another quarter, as do the strong gales that sometimes blow in Tonga during the summer months. Generally of things and circumstances that are bound to shift and be of a character opposite to that which they were at first.

305. Hala pe Vai ka ko Vai: The rain has missed but there will be rain.

Vai-mua (Earlier rain, or water) and *Vai-mui* (Later rain, or water) are the names of two moons in the Tongan calendar, corresponding roughly to February and March. If the rain expected in the former of these two wet months fails to appear there is still the later wet month to look for ward to. It is a counsel of courage, bidding us not lose heart immediately on the failure of one expected opportunity.

306. Tanaki kai fai ki Vai: Collecting food for *Vai*, the rainy months, about February or January and March, when the native food supply is low.

This is an expression of careless indifference, almost of reproof, to deter one who desires to save food for another time. Why save? Let the lean months look after themselves.

307. Ka ai ha ofa pea tali ki Uluenga: If there is any kindness (to do) then wait till Uluenga.

Uluenga is the name of one of the Tongan divisions of the year, about October or November, when the food supply is scanty. The idea, therefore,

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539 571 183 is that anyone who wishes to do kind acts had better choose a time when they will be really useful.

539 821 534 412 287 **308. Ngingi uha:** Sounding (of) rain.

This indicates the sound of the mallets used for beating out the native cloth, or the sound of the native drum (*lali*) when there is rain about. The note of the drum or *tappa* mallets is then a sign of rain. Proverbially applied to the signs that something is about to happen. (See No. 564.)

539 821 [183] **309. Uha kei lelei:** Rain still good.

Rain falling at a suitable interval after the last previous downfall, as distinguished especially from rain which falls after so long a period of dry weather that many plants have died and are unable to profit by the downpour when it does come. Generally of actions and circumstances of all sorts that occur at appropriate times and are therefore able to achieve the maximum of good.

SEA AND COAST

539 481 829 **310. Anu tahi:** Swimming (floating, wading) in the sea.

Used of one in difficulties, exactly as we say, "one has got into deep water."

539 481 183 **311. Auhia kae kisu atu pe:** Obstructed by the current but spitting on.

The picture is that of a swimmer striving against the current with the water breaking in his face and getting in his mouth; but who keeps squirting or spitting the water from his mouth and battles bravely on. Applied to one who goes indomitably on his way in spite of the difficulties which beset him.

539 829 184 **312. Fai tahi:** Sea doings, that is, unusual behavior, sometimes deceitful conduct.

The gods of the sea had characteristics different from those of the land; the conduct of people at sea is not the same as their behavior ashore. It is hard to say what special differences, if any, exist between longshore and sea-going habits and particularly why the idea of craftiness should be associated with this expression. Broadly it appears to mean things that are not done ashore.

539 571 825 **313. Fakaita fai ki tahi:** Anger bestowed on sea; "to be revenged on another by punishing oneself." (Baker.)

The story is that a party of brothers prepared food, yam with rats. When the food was divided one of the brothers, apparently the youngest, was dissatisfied with his share and in his chagrin jumped over a cliff into the

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sea. These brothers were chiefs, each with his own followers, and the angry man's followers went with their master over the cliff. Among them was a Samoan. The party were turned into porpoises, and the tattooing on the Samoan's body is the origin of the marking on the belly of the porpoise. 539 571 825

314. Feofaaki a kakau: Mutual affection of swimmers. 539

Kindly feelings for each other felt by those who have very little opportunity of translating their sentiments into actions, just as men swimming away from a wrecked boat can do very little for each other however much they may desire to. 571 481

315. Ha ha mo lofia: Appearing, appearing and awash. 539

Used of that which shows up and disappears at intervals, like an object floating in the sea, which is visible for an instant and then is hidden from sight by the waves. 823

316. Hange ha pa utu: Like a steep cliff.

Used of that which stands firm and unshaken no matter what storms of trial beat against it. The picture is that of a great cliff unmoved by the dashing waves.

317. Hange ha tahi hua: Like an incoming tide.

A resistless thing.

318. Matemate a liku: The *liku* still.

The *liku* is the weather side of the island, usually protected by a broad shelf of rock, and always presenting a rock-bound inhospitable coast. Even when the tide is out and the sea smooth, leaving the shelf of reef dry and bare, one cannot altogether trust appearances for a sudden wave may come up and perhaps overwhelm those who are exposed in dangerous places on the rocks. Appearances that cannot be trusted. [183]

319. Laku maka fai ki tahi (or moana): Casting stones into the sea (or ocean).

A type of a useless labor; the stones are lost but the sea is not dammed up.

320. Likuliku mo ao: Windward and leeward.

The sea breaks heavily on the weather side but there is calm on the leeward side. This mixture of rough and calm is used proverbially of one whose character displays like inconsistencies; at one time he seems an honest man, and at another a liar; at one time kindly, and at another harsh. [157]

321. Limu tuu i au: Seaweed standing in current. 539

That which is unstable, like seaweed constantly moved by the water. 824

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539 823 825 **322. Mamaha ae tahi he kuo tuunga kiu:** The tide is low for the plover (*Charadrius fulvus*) can stand.

There are a number of phrases for different stages of the outgoing and incoming tide. *Tuunga kiu*, standing for the plover, indicates the time when the sea has receded so far as to leave isolated rocks projecting here and there on the reef, thus affording standing places for the plover. Proverbially used of that which is nearly finished, of which signs of approaching completion are appearing here and there.

539 823 [103] **323. Nofo i lelenga:** Living at cliff; being at the top of the cliff.

Lelenga is the name given to a very high bare cliff in Eua, with a sheer drop into the sea. It is possibly, in this connection at all events, a proper name, but Baker gives it as a common noun meaning jeopardy. The expression *nofo i lelenga* has been explained as referring directly to the cliff in Eua, a fall from which would be certain death, and where, owing to the nature of the coast, the chances of recovering the body would be slight. Used generally of being in danger, uncertainty of life. Nowadays [829] frequently heard in Christian worship in reference to the uncertainties of life.

539 823 386 **324. Paepae kae auhia:** Mounded up but washed away.

Perhaps in the first instance refers to the leaves put in the sea to bleach in preparation for mat making. These leaves are anchored by stones put on them. If not this the obvious meaning is still that of something which is piled up but yet washed away by the currents. It is applied to that which one tries to do, to put through, to make fast, but cannot.

539 823 **325. Ta ki ao ta ki tua:** Having regard to front, having regard to back.

Ta ki liku ta ki ao: Having regard to weather side (of an island), having regard to lee side.

Ta ki liku ta ki fanga: Having regard to weather (rocky) side, having regard to beach.

Ta ki tahi ta ki uta: Having regard to sea, having regard to land.

[183] These expressions have the same meaning. In reference to persons they denote all-round excellence; used of place they mean everywhere.

NATURAL FEATURES OF LAND

326. Fuli ki vanu: Overturned into chasm.

Such a thing will not appear again; it is finished and done with. So of a thing that is finished, whose usefulness is quite over.

327. Ka kele a matavai e kele mo muivai: If the source is muddy the lower waters will also be muddy.

[183] [312] This has its obvious application to things spoiled throughout by corruption at the fountain-head. Although pure Tongan in form and vo-

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at a considerable distance from their own homes. It is moreover a high chiefly village; and therefore a likely place to obtain food. There is a double reference in this phrase; first, that one is so hungry that he is willing to go a long way to obtain food; second, that in going to Fuaamotu he is going to a good place to get it.

539 484 829 261

HAAPAI

[Haapai is the central portion of the Tongan group, lying almost midway between Tongatabu to the south and Vavau to the north. It is a widely scattered archipelago, consisting almost entirely of low coral islands.]

131 133

339. Afa kai fai ki Haa-Ngana: A great talk about food after the Haa-Ngana way.

539 829 184

Haa-Ngana, the tribe of Ngana, is found in three small islands in the Haapai group. What might be reckoned a great thing in these small islands is not necessarily of such dimensions as to appear worthy of special comment to the inhabitant of a larger place. Much ado about nothing.

340. E seea ae namu Nomuka: Nomuka mosquitoes will be driven away.

539 825

The island of Nomuka, one of the southernmost of the Haapai group, is deservedly famous for its mosquitoes. The expression is used for that which is very difficult. It is easier to keep the mosquitoes off oneself in Nomuka than to do so-and-so. (Compare Nos. 370, 358 and 133.)

341. Foa ulu efu: Foa dusty head.

539 578 184

This is an abusive epithet applied to the people of Foa in Haapai. It makes a Foa man angry and does not seem applicable to any peculiarity discoverable today in the people or their island, which is large and very fertile. A story is told which refers the origin of the expression to a combat between two chiefs of Foa. One hit the other on the head with his club and made a cloud of dust fly out. It is also said the yams in Foa have large heads with plenty of room for the dirt to lodge when they are dug up; but this strikes one as being rather the finding of fresh cases to which to apply the abuse than the explanation of its origin.

342. Hange ko Fakatoutoa: Like Fakatoutoa.

539 823

Fakatoutoa is a place in the sea near Nomuka, in the Haapai Group, where rough water is frequently encountered. Used proverbially of rough seas. (See No. 332.)

343. Hilinga mo Tolu koe motu tokanoa: It becomes Tolu, an island that lies right out of the way.

Tolu is a small group of islets lying at a considerable distance from any other portion of the Tonga Islands and is, moreover, rather inaccessible and out of the usual track of boats. The expression as it stands, is ellip- (183)

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539 823 183 tical, but would be readily intelligible in a context. It means that a backwoods, out of the way place like Tolu had better not interfere with the affairs of other places. It is a way of telling anyone to mind his own business.

539 829 554 **344. Nae tai ae vaka Mounga-one koe ikai hano eiki:** The Mounga-one boat was smitten because it had no chief.

The story is that a party of men sailed from Mounga-one in Haapai to some part of Fiji. On landing they cooked themselves some chestnuts (*Inocarpis edulis*), which were passed around and eaten in a most informal manner. While this was going forward a party of Fijians appeared, and feeling sure from the haphazard, go-as-you-please way in which the Tongans were taking their food that no chief was present they fell on them and slew them. This incident is jocularly referred to by one of a working party who is lazy, or who perhaps really deserves a rest, and wants to sit down. He sits down with the remark that the Mounga-one boat was cut out because there was no chief there, his meaning being that he will sit down and play the chief for the party he is with.

539 184 **345. Oku ikai ha vaka e mate i tahi ka e mole ai a Haano:** There is not a boat lost at sea but a Haano man perishes there.

The people of the island of Haano in Haapai have the reputation of being such incorrigible wanderers that a boat cannot be wrecked without there being someone from this island among the drowned. Wherever you find a boat you are sure to find at least one Haano man on board.

539 776 183 **346. Kama e tevolo i Kao, Kae tuku e tevolo aau:** Reaching out to, attending to, the devil in Kao, but not noticing your own devil.

In its present form this appears to be modern, and it is impossible to say whether there was an older form in which the word *tevolo* is replaced by something more certainly ancient and genuinely Tongan. The second line is sometimes rendered, *Kae tuku ae tevolo ho ao*, But not noticing the devil in your presence. The expression apparently originated in Haapai, where the island peak of Kao is situated. It is used here as the type of that which is distant: concerned over evils at a distance but regardless of the evils which are close at hand. (Compare Nos. 422 and 423.)

539 823 **347. Tekefili hange ko Kao:** Lying manifest like Kao.

The high conical island of Kao in Haapai is the most striking feature in the seascape for very many miles around. "As plain as Kao" means much the same as "As plain as a pike-staff," but is a much more striking and forcible expression.

348. Koe mamao he ko Aka: Distant, for 'tis Aka.

Aka is the name of a reef near the islands of Tofua and Kao, the two volcanic mountains of the Haapai group. To reach this reef involved a long sail from the islands that were the main centers of population, but

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canoes used to go there for fishing. The expression is used generally of a long voyage to reach a reef. 539 823

349. Manako maka fai ki Tofua: Wishing for rock in Tofua. 539 823 183

Volcanic stones and pebbles from Tofua are highly valued for several purposes, but Tofua is far from most of the inhabited islands, the anchorage is bad, and contrary winds are frequently met with, especially in returning. Wishing for stones from Tofua, therefore, is to desire something that is worth having but difficult to obtain.

350. Taka Haapai tae i Tofua: Going about Haapai without being in Tofua. 539 823 484

The meaning of this is similar to that of No. 335, the volcanic mountain of Tofua being as inconveniently situated with respect to the main portion of the Haapai group as Eua is with respect to Tongatabu. (See also No. 352.)

VAVAU AND NIUA FOOU

[Vavau is the most northerly of the Tonga Islands with the exception of the outlying islands of Niua Tobutabu and Niua Foou. Vavau is high and picturesque and possesses an exceedingly fine harbor. Niua Foou is about midway between Vavau and Samoa.] 131 133

351. Kai pe e Ngaunoho ae fua o enau gaue kovi: Ngaunoho is merely eating the fruit of its ill deed. 539 823

As a proverb this is one of the many expressions found scattered throughout the world which warn erring mortals that they must reap as they sow. Ngaunoho is a village in Vavau, and is said to have been once a flourishing place but to have fallen from its old prosperity through having offended its chief. Its present decrepitude is the fruit that it has to bite on. 622 626 829

352. Taka Haafuluhao tae i Poujini: Going about in Haafuluhao without being in Poujini. 539 823

Haafuluhao is a common name for Vavau, the northern part of the Tonga Islands. Poujini is a small islet near Haalaufuli in Vavau which is not often visited. This is similar to Nos. 335 and 350.

353. Tala kei i Kapa: Tell still in Kapa. 539 776 466 183

Kapa is an island in Vavau, lying close to the island of Mala. The route from Kapa to the mainland lies through Mala, where once dwelt a formidable cannibal man or demi-god. Warnings should be given or preparations made in Kapa before passing on to Mala, where one was in deadly peril. Used generally of taking time by the forelock, making all preparations to meet danger before one is actually involved in it.

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539 184 576 574 276 **354. Faka-Niuniua-foou:** Niua Foou fashion.

Tongans generally do not ask a stranger his name directly but ask a third person who knows him, whereas the people of Niua Foou make no scruple of a point blank inquiry. Hence to ask anybody his name directly is to act in the Niua Foou way. There is a special application to kava drinking. The *matabule* who is directing the brewing and distribution of the drink may not know the names of all present. A very common proceeding in such as case is to quietly inquire of one sitting near who so-and-so is; but he may say "We'll do Niua Foou way," and then without further invitation the strangers will each tell their names, or someone who knows them will name them out.

OTHER LOCALITIES

539 183 **355. Faji pe jila tuku ki Manono:** Boom broken—leave it to Manono, or boom broken, impute it to Manono.

Either of these expressions is a literal translation of the words. The origin of the phrase is obscure, but it is applied in two ways in accordance with the two translations given: 1. When a thing is broken, leave it to such a one, or to certain people who are skilled craftsmen and will mend it; 2. When a thing is broken, impute the blame for the mishap to so-and-so.

539 829 177 **356. Hange ha tama Polataane:** Like a British man.

This indicates one of martial aspect. Presumably the Tongans in the days of their first contact with European seamen grew accustomed to the sight of fully armed landing parties.

539 643 466 264 823 **357. Koe aho ni ape e tuku ki Uvea:** Today apparently is to be left to Uvea.

When the Tui Tonga had a big piece of work on hand, as for example building or repairing his boat, the *Akiheuho*, the duty of feeding the carpenters was apportioned among the various districts in rotation, even as far as Uvea. The Uveans lived a long way off, and on their day the workmen frequently went hungry. So on any day when it was not clear whether any food would be forthcoming for them or not the carpenters were wont to say, "H'm, looks as though today were being left to Uvea." Used generally of uncertainty whether a desired event will happen or not.

539 823 [177] [609] **358. Ko Vaihi e:** That's Hawaii.

Indicates that which is far off and impossible. Much as English people speak of asking for the moon. "Did you get such a thing?" "That's Hawaii," that is, I have as much chance of getting that as I have of getting Hawaii. We are unable to say with certainty, but think it probable that this name Vaihi is no old recollection preserved in Tongan tradition, but a recent innovation since the visits of European vessels. A variation of this is *Ko Vaihi matalo'lou*, that is, yellow-eyed, or yellow, Hawaii; but we do not know the reason of the epithet.

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539 776 773 **365. Tamajii tali kelo:** Tiresome child, especially of one who talks insistently of what he can do, or is going to do, but does not do it.

The literal meaning is rather obscure, but appears as "child receiving, or stopping, catching, brown," which is not the most intelligible of phrases. Tongan tradition assigns the origin of the expression to Maui Atalanga, the father of Maui Kijikiji; during the time when the two Maui were living in Vavau. At least two accounts are extant of the circumstances in which the phrase was first used, but they vary only in details. Tradition is agreed that the Maui were living in the neighborhood of Haalauiuli and Taanea. In the one account they went to slay a huge man-eating rat. They found the beast sitting in the mouth of his hole. The rat rushed at them, but they struck it and it fled for shelter to its nest. Then the question arose between the Maui of a plan of campaign. Each wished the other to dig the rat out while he himself waited to receive it as it ran out. At length the elder gave in to the importunity of his son, impatiently exclaiming as he did so "*Ae tamajii tali kelo*," perhaps, "A fine sort of boy to receive this brown beast." Young Kijikiji, however, was as good as his vaunt and seized and strangled the rat as he ran from his lair. The other account says that the two Maui went to catch a big brown pig and the dispute was as to who was to pelt the pig and who to catch him as he ran in his direction. As before the elder Maui exclaimed "*Ae tamajii tali kelo (ni)*," "A fine sort of boy to catch (or receive) this brown creature," or, "A boy to catch this brown creature." It may be noticed that in Fijian there is a word *ng-gelo* meaning lame (Hazelwood, Fijian and English Dictionary, translates *gelo* as 'crooked-footed, soles turned up). If this word existed in Tongan it would [578] have the form *kelo*. For the elder Maui to exclaim angrily to his son "Boy fit to catch a lame man, or creature," seems more in line with the abusive language of the Tongans, as of other peoples, than the explanations noted above; but, however attractive this may be, it cannot be adopted in the absence of positive evidence that *kelo* in the sense of lame has been used in Tongan.

366. Tamajii ukei kia Maui: A boy challenging Maui, the legendary divine hero.

[183] This refers to one who has the assurance to challenge another stronger than himself. It is said to owe its origin to the impudent violence of the younger Maui, Maui Kijikiji, to his father Maui Atalanga, as a result of which the elder felled the younger with a spade. In Tongan legend the exploits of Maui Kijikiji quickly outrivalled those of his father Atalanga and to assign this phrase to the encounter between the two Maui may not seem therefore altogether appropriate. In any case the meaning is apparent.

367. Tavatava i Manuka: The literal meaning seems to be unknown in Tonga, but the expression indicates the betrayal of a secret.

Tongan legend ascribes the origin of this phrase to Tonga-fuji-fonua, Tonga the Land-Fisher, from whom the Maui procured the hook with

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539 This tree in Pulotu is called by the Tongans the *puko lea*, speaking
773 *puko*, and it is curious that a tree in Samoa which has an equivalent name
571 (*pu'ao* and which is apparently the same tree, is called *pu'angangana*,
824 speaking *pu'a*. (Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 381.)

RELIGION

539 776 157 **370. E unua e tevolo:** The devil will be shifted.

Applied to one who is very hard to move. The idea is that it would be easier to shift a devil than such a one, hard as devils are to move. (Compare Nos. 338, 340 and 133.)

539 554 565 784 **371. Fahu ae tapu:** The prohibition is removed.

The word *fahu*, which is of great importance in the understanding of the social organization, indicates broadly rights enjoyed by reason of superior family rank. A tabu can be removed by one who has this superiority to the one who imposed it, and *fahu* thus comes to be a technical word for the removal of tabu. As a question this phrase is used to rebuke one who has presumed to do that which he should not.

539 825 787 201 **372. Faka-momoa-tea:** White fowl fashion.

This seems to be the literal translation, taking *momoa* as the reduplicated form of *moa*, fowl. The white fowl is said to be an omen bird. There are two principal senses in which the word is used; first, ominous, presaging evil; second, to weep for the living as though they were dead.

539 776 773 [824] **373. Hange ko Hina:** Like Hina.

Hina was one of the most talked of goddesses, as Jinilau was one of the most talked of gods. Both are represented as very beautiful. Should a discussion arise as to the identity of a goddess in a tale the story was likely to be finally credited to Hina. Similarly Jinilau would probably be hit on if the name of a male diety were in question. So to say that anyone is like Hina means that he is much talked of, or much abused.

539 778 681 **374. Hia i Fanakava:** Criminal in Fanakava.

Fanakava was the name of a very famous sanctuary in Mua, the chief district of Tongatabu, and the home of the Tui Tonga and of other great lords. Up to the introduction of Christianity Fanakava afforded an inviolable sanctuary to all who gained it. The expression indicates a person guilty of some offense but secure from punishment.

539 776 183 **375. Ji e he tevolo:** The devil pushing.

Used sarcastically to one who is making a poor apology for his bad conduct, "H'm, the devil shoved you into it." This phrase, which is recent, is said to have originated with a man who went visiting a lady he should not have visited, and who, when put on trial for his conduct, defended himself by saying that he went to the woman without knowing what he was doing and that he supposed the devil must have thrust him into the house.

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387. Maomao ki taovala: Ready, prepared with *taovala.* 539 292 183

The *taovala* is the girdle, usually a piece of mat, put round the waist before going into the presence of a chief. The phrase means to have the *taovala* always handy to be used whenever needed; hence to be prepared for any emergency that may arise.

388. Pule Taoa: Taoa finery. 539 291 177

Pule is literally "spotted," "variegated," as the design in some cloths, or the markings of a cowry shell. This expression is modern and is applied to an European print with a big, gaudy pattern. It is said that one day several women from Taoa, a village in Vavau, went into a store in Neiafu and bought some prints, apparently of rather striking designs. While they were still in the store a man came in and, seeing their purchases, remarked in the words of this expression "Taoa is going in for spots," and the phrase has stuck.

389. Tui momoa: Dry knee, that is, a knee that is hard and dry through exposure to the weather. 539 291 735

A woman's ordinary dress should descend below the knee; an exception is made of the festive dresses worn in dances and sometimes on other ceremonious occasions. This expression indicates primarily a woman so poor that she cannot afford a sufficiently broad piece of cloth for her waistcloth, and so has her knees exposed to the sun and rain and wind. It is used derisively of a poor person.

390. Vala kovi fie kofu silika: Bad loin-cloth wanting to be silk dress. 539 291 554

Evidently modern. The point is rendered plainer if the statement is correct that in the early days silk cost as much as £5 a yard. Used of a commoner who wants to act the chief.

FACIAL EXPRESSION AND GESTURES

391. Faka-alinga lelei: Making a fair showing. 539 828

This expression carries the implication that there are faults behind the pleasant exterior or that an amiable face may be the mask assumed by very unfriendly feelings.

392. Faka-pula-matai: Making eye swell. 539 152 201

Used of a very angry man, whose eyes protrude in his rage. May be used also of the victim of this rage, whose eyes may swell with vexation and grief, or who may even get a swollen eye through the physical application of the other man's anger; in this sense not unlike the English vulgarism of giving anyone a thick ear.

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539 826 **407. Lahilahi a ngavaivai:** A weak man is big, or the bigness of a weak man.

Big fleshy people have not the strength and endurance of those of lean wiry build. The companion phrase is *"Jiijii a pakiji,"* which indicates the tough endurance of the lean wiry man. (See No. 406.)

PHYSICAL DEFECTS

539 309 782 **408. Fafa he ho nima ku:** Stroke that with your stumpy hand.

Nima ku, that is a hand of which a finger has been mutilated by the amputation of a joint, is used familiarly for *nima*, hand. Before the introduction of Christianity such mutilation was extremely frequent, as finger joints were commonly sacrificed to the various gods. The expression is used by one who has done something that should prove gratifying to another; much as English speaking people say, "Well, what do you think of that?" The literal idea is that of fondling, caressing, with the hand, as though one should say "There's a deed, or a thing, of which you might well be fond."

409. Tonu a ulu-ku: Correctness of mutilated.

Refers directly to the customary mutilation of the hand by cutting off the top of the finger in sacrifice. A person with a hand thus disfigured might be very skillful in dances, many of which consist largely of motions of the hands, but the mutilation would to some extent mar the charm. So generally of that which is done all right, but is spoiled by some defect. [183]

539 827 **410. Kui lohiaki a:** A shortsighted man pretending to have good sight.

The shortsighted man may try to conceal his defect by pretending to see things that he is unable to distinguish clearly.

539 515 302 386 **411. Hange ha uku ha tula:** Like a bald man washing his head.

A bald man needs but a very thin mixture of lime or clay and water to cleanse his scanty locks. So a weak, watery decoction of *koka* (coloring matter for the native cloth), or of some other mixture, is compared to the head wash of a bald man.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 302 [137] **412. Aofanga tuku:** Head bound for hair burning.

The words used are chiefly. The place of a hair cut was taken in former times by a hair burn. In one method the lower part of the head was bound round with a green leaf of the *ii* (*Cordyline terminalis*) and then the hair singed off the top. This phrase means literally the leaf for the hair-burning, and is said to indicate that the leaf is ready adjusted for the process to begin. When the leaf is bound round there is no other preparation to make, everything is ready, and thence the expression has come to denote final, last.

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413. Fāala fakatau ki he muiulu: Looking (for lice) at the back of the head. 539 183 515

The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found.

414. Tata a tua nima: Nearness of back of the hand. 539

The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when anything is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of his closeness he touches nothing. 571 602 826

415. Teeki pea toki fakataane: Break wind and then sit properly. 539

The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *angavale*, behave vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the stable door after the horse has got out. 827 576 516

416. Tufotufa ulu-nima: Distributing (with) fingers. 539

Giving away grudgingly; not grasping heartily and offering with good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.) 431 183

HOME AND COMPOUND

417. Ana jiko-makii: Cave sullied with excrement. 539

Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.) 356 [342]

418. Hifo i toumua: Going down to (one's own) frontage, that is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in front of his place. 539 351 461

The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

419. Hikihiki kaua: Shifting fence or boundary. 539

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably fixed. 423 571 829

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427. Valoki e kulo ki he fakapaku: The pot scolding the frying-pan. 539 571

An entirely modern adaptation of the English pot and kettle expression, and with the same meaning. (See No. 483.)

DOMESTIC RELATIONS

MOTHER AND CHILD

428. Fakamui i mama: At the end in chewing. 539 855 593

Mothers often feed young children by chewing up food in their own mouths and then transferring it to the mouths of the children. This expression indicates a mother who chews food for her child but deprives the youngster of his due by swallowing a portion of the food and giving the child the remainder. The literal meaning seems to be, "at the end of the chewing (she swallows)," or more probably, "(she gives the child) the end of the chew," that is, what is left after her own swallow.

429. Kai tama: Child eating.

Applied to parents who are unkind to their children, and also to those who are unkind to close relatives. [602]

430. Kuo ta ki hono uho: It was struck to his naval-corn. 539 852 844 828

After the birth of a child the umbilical cord was cut by the father or male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord in a convenient position, and the father severed it with a hatchet uttering a wish for the future destiny of the child: that a girl would be beautiful; that a boy would become a great warrior or fisherman, and the like. So when anyone is peculiarly apt at some particular task or seems to have been born to meet some special circumstances that have arisen, it is not uncommon to say that his cord was cut for that, just as we say in English that he was destined for it.

431. Lau tama fai ki he fatu: Reckoning a child in the womb. 539 183

Wait till the child is safely born before you have anything to say about it, or any plans to make for it. It is just like our English expression, "Counting your chickens before they are hatched."

This recalls, though it has no very direct bearing on it, the story of a chiefly woman who died during pregnancy, and after the vault in which she was buried had been closed up those busy about the grave heard the cry of a child from below. The matter was reported to the King who ordered that the child should be named Finau Taeiloa, that is, Finau Unknown. This is said to be the origin of the name Finau Taeiloa. 539 553

432. Ofa a fine paa: Love of barren woman. 539 851 554 828

Great as the love of a childless woman may be yet it does not reach the intensity of the love of a mother.

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537 592 829 571 **448. Nonofo nonofo iloa ae tae oe nonofo:** Living together, living together, the excrement of the living together (or of those living together) is discovered.

Baker renders it: "To live together for a length of time, and then find out the evil of so doing." This seems a very likely meaning, but the expression is also explained as equivalent to the English, "It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest."

539 622 565 602 431 **449. Tangi ke vikia kae au ae kainga:** Desiring to be praised but the relatives badly off.

This particularly indicates a chief who makes a liberal distribution of his food and other wealth, but overlooks the claims of his own immediate followers. He may earn the reputation of generosity from numerous people who have benefitted by his ostentatious gifts, but those whom every consideration of justice and gratitude should have recommended to his most kindly treatment are left to suffer want. Also written, *Holi ke vikia.*

539 595 183 577 **450. Hala a jinifu:** Wrong-doing of concubine.

Wrong-doing, punishment for which involves others besides the actual offender. If one of the wives of a chief proved false to her lord the whole harem shared her guilt and punishment.

539 603 571 **451. Ofoofa a kui:** Love of grandparent.

The love of grandparents is very sincere but their anger is to be dreaded, as in their wrath they may strike the offending grandchildren how and where they will. The love of one whose affection is undoubted, but whose position of authority is such that he may punish without let or hindrance.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

539 584 [726] **452. A maumau taimi:** Awake, wasting time.

Applied, for instance, to the man who spends his evenings wooing a girl whom he has no chance of winning. Used also in derision by the warriors inside a fortress to the foe whom they see outside watching early and late for an opportunity to force an entrance.

[177] In its present form with its employment of *taimi*, a corruption of the English time, this phrase is modern, but with the slight change to *A maumaunoa*, waking to no purpose, it may well be ancient.

453. Anefe ha taha a Majilamea: When was there anyone of Majilamea?

A beautiful chiefly girl of Vavau was courted by a chief of Majilamea in Vavau. This gentleman was not a very glib speaker nor apparently was he very lavish with his gifts to the lady. His courting was evidently a rather dull infliction on the damsel. She was wooed and won by another man who was not a chief, but who had the art of pleasing speech and the

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539 278 272 273 **487. Hange ha inu vai tulotula:** Like drinking *tulotula* medicine.

This particular member of the Tongan pharmacopoeia has no pronounced or unpleasant taste and one may drink it like water. Probably the drugs that enter into its composition are not very strong and they do not produce very marked effects. Used of one who drinks large quantities of liquids like kava or spirits without showing any effects.

539 164 577 **488. Hange ha kainiloto:** Like a *kainiloto*.

Kainiloto is an ulcerous or cancerous affection of the throat and nose whose nature is indicated by its name, which means eating inside. The disease has already committed serious ravages in the interior of the body before it becomes apparent on the surface. The phrase is applied to an evil which is hidden at first and only shows up when it has reached a very serious stage and is extremely difficult to cope with.

539 826 752 **489. He oku ai ha hui kape loto:** For is there a bone (needle) to pick out (what is in the) heart?

If one gets a splinter, for instance, in any external part of the body he can easily pick it out with a needle; but there is no needle that can pick out the secrets in the heart.

539 514 758 **490. Kovi jiko ngaoi:** To evacuate the bowels moving about is bad.

This is applied to a sick man, who, instead of lying down patiently and taking the care that his ill health demands, wants to be up and at work. His unwisdom is parallel to that of the man who should try to walk about while performing a function that is obviously inconsistent with walking exercise.

539 758 **491. Mahaki fakapopo fala:** Sickness rotting mat.

Refers to very protracted illness in which the patient is lying down so long that it might be said that his bed mats are rotting under him.

539 757 484 368 **492. Malumalu talavai:** Shady (for) getting medicine.

Probably a late phrase, dating from the establishment of the mission stations and of Government hospitals with their dispensaries. Such dispensaries are naturally in the larger villages and people often travel a considerable distance to reach them. The phrase indicates the cool of the late afternoon suitable for the journey to a village where a dispensary stands.

539 758 183 **493. Mangu bea lau:** Scab and touching with the fingers, that is, picking the scab from a sore.

Making a bad thing worse by meddling.

539 164 554 565 **494. Papanga eiki:** Level chiefs.

Papanga means to be disfigured by having the nose eaten away by a kind of ulceration not very uncommon in these islands. If the nose is gone the face is level, there is no boldly jutting out feature left. So of a gather-

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539 761 287 **501. Hange ha mate mutukia:** Like a cut off death.

Mutukia means trimmed, as for example the edges of the native cloth which are trimmed during manufacture. Thence *mate mutukia* means sudden, unexpected, death. The expression is used of the unexpected occurrence of a painful or disastrous event.

539 764 **502. Matamatalelei fakafaitoka:** Beautiful like a cemetery.

People may adorn and care for a cemetery but however well it looks it is still not a place that one feels much at home in. So used of that which is beautiful but fails to evoke the feeling of appreciative comfort that makes one desire to linger in its vicinity.

539 768 183 **503. Noo ua poaki:** Begging off being strangled.

Refers to the strangling of victims on the death of a chief or other circumstances of a like nature where a human victim was called for. This taking of life seemed a quite proper thing and ordinarily evoked no popular dissent. This expression signifies literally that the individual to whom was assigned the leading part in the tragedy sought to evade his duty by an appeal to the people. So the phrase comes to mean attempting to beg off a duty which should be carried out.

539 764 521 **504. Tala fai ki tano:** Speech made to burying-ground.

Exhortation, commands, or other expressions directed towards the cemetery where there is none able to take heed and profit by what is said. So of totally unprofitable discourse.

539 764 763 **505. To hono aveave:** Plant his *aveave*.

A branch of the *aveave* (*Codiaeum variegatum* Pratt), was stuck into the ground in a cemetery to mark the spot where a grave was to be dug. When it was clear that a sick person was about to die a man was told to put in the *aveave*, which he did as a mark to direct those whose business it was to see to the digging of the grave and carrying out of the burial. The *aveave* was left at the grave to grow. The expression, therefore, is equivalent to saying that so-and-so is nearing his end, that it is all up with him.

It is interesting to note that a grave was not left open. The digging of the grave was one of the last pieces of work done in preparation for the interment and never done before the sick person was actually dead, though the *aveave* might be planted while the patient was still alive. In recent years we have seen a coffin made for an old lady, who though frail had vitality sufficient to do a little work even outside the house, and who survived by many months the completion of her coffin, which stood meanwhile on the side verandah of her house. Should an interment be postponed till the day after the grave had been dug, the hole will be filled in and dug out again on the next day. (See No. 498.)

539 765 276 574 431 **506. Tuui tae fakakava:** Visiting mourners without kava.

In visits to the friends and relatives of a person recently deceased it is customary to take gifts to the mourners, particularly to present them with

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kava. A visit without kava would lack the most important article which the comforters should take. This phrase indicates a visit unaccompanied by the "real thing," that which is the real substance of the ceremony. Generally used of that which appears all right but is more or less of a hollow pretence. 539 765 276 574 431

507. Vai kauaki: Water (for) dying man. 539 763

Used of that which is given to a dying man to satisfy any longing he may have. If he wants a drink of water give it to him. Literally it refers to giving the dying whatever they may want when it is obvious that nothing can do any good or any harm and that by satisfying any desire expressed at such a time the last moments may be made happier. We have also seen the phrase in a context that seemed to imply that the draught of water was life-giving; but probably the idea is that it restored the spirits of the dying man without giving him any real chance of life. Comforting, soothing. [271]

WRONG-DOING; RETRIBUTION

508. E lavea ae taka nofo i he ngaue ae taka tuu: The good will be wounded by the conduct of the bad; wrong-doing which involves the innocent as well as the guilty in punishment. 539 183

Taka nofo and *taka tuu*, which mean literally, "he who sits" and "he who stands," perhaps get their meanings of good and bad, as applied to conduct, from the idea of one who sits quietly attending to his own business, and of one who must always be up and gadding round into mischief. Perhaps they refer primarily to the behavior proper to the kava ring where all should sit except when it is necessary to get up to perform some office connected with the ceremony.

509. Faifaimalie a nunua: Retribution coming on slowly.

Although the retribution of evil deeds seems to tarry, yet come it will.

510. Jii pe lele ae kaihaa kae fai: The thief's run is but short, but it is done.

If a thief is discovered he must make a bolt. Even if he is unable to run far and is soon caught he may as well make a dash for it and try to get away. Not a very successful attempt, but still a try.

511. Kaihaa tangi tauloto: A thief who wants to *touloto*. 539

Tauloto is to carry two burdens or baskets slung on the ends of a stick over the shoulder. If a man desires to steal he will be well advised to limit his depredations to what can easily be comprised in a single bundle and carried without difficulty. If he takes so much that he has to make up two bundles and carry them at the ends of a stick his chances of evading discovery and capture are much lessened. Not only so, but if caught he is much more likely to be forgiven if he is getting off with a swag of moderate size. If you are out for theft there is no sense in over-doing it. 482 685

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539 578 **512. Mala fai e tangata:** Curse that man makes.

A curse that does not come from the unseen powers but is the fault of man himself.

539 183 **513. Muimui a nunua:** Retribution following after.

This is the pessimistic statement that sorrow is following on the heels of men.

539 681 183 **514. Toka moe kafa:** Lying with cord, lying down bound.

One who is not lying down because he wants to but because he is a bound prisoner and can not do otherwise. It may be translated also, "Existing with cord, existing bound," but the idea is precisely the same of a prisoner in bonds. So generally of a person who must pursue a certain course of action, of things that must of necessity be done.

COMMON PEOPLE

539 466 461 **515. Fai faka-fatongia:** Doing compulsory task fashion.

The *fatongia* was the forced service exacted from the people by the chiefs. This indicates a job that one does not set about whole-heartedly because he wishes to do it; but one which he does unwillingly and only because he must. "Government stroke."

539 565 829 571 **516. Fiemua e tua ki mua:** The commoner trying to outwit (a) chief.

The chiefs were the repositories of wisdom and knowledge; the commoners lacked their intelligence and experience. Consequently for a commoner to attempt to get the better of a chief was a mark of foolish presumption. So used generally of a man trying to outwit one wiser than himself, of an inferior attempting to get the better of his superior.

539 554 183 **517. Ha fie matai koia e tangenge:** A would-be craftsman that (that is) large.

Used in rebuke for forwardness, presumption. The nuance of the Tongan phrase is not greatly different from some such English colloquialism as, "Well, that's a pretty tall order." "You certainly have got some hide."

539 565 431 **518. Jii kae ha:** Small but appearing.

Used of one who wishes to appear to the chiefs or people but has very little that he can take as a present. Notwithstanding the insignificance of his offering he takes and presents it and achieves the prominence that he desires.

539 726 565 411 **519. Kai foto a tua:** Commoner eating sting ray's tail, or as we should say in English, making cannon fodder of himself.

The tail of the sting ray was used to tip the spears, and the sense is that of the commoner braving all the dangers of war, with the further

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undemocratic understanding that however brave he may show himself he is nevertheless but a commoner. There is a couplet which runs as follows:

Tangi a tua ke tau ke toa,
Kae toatoa toe tua pe.

Which, somewhat freely translated runs:

A commoner wanting to be a great warrior,
But with all his courage remaining but a commoner.

520. Lolinga a motu: Habit of islet.

The word *motu*, translated islet, refers to the smaller islands scattered about the Tongan group. Although the largest island is only about twenty-five miles long the word *motu* is not used of it nor in general of the other more important centers of population. Different sections of Tongan population do not show the variation in manner and outlook that separates extreme rusticity from extreme "towniness" in white men's countries, but the manner in which the out-of-the-way islander does things excites something of the same half-contemptuous tolerance in the man accustomed to places where the elite of Tongan society are centered, as the country man does in the city man. All such comparisons as these, however, are vastly in favor of the Tongan over the European. In all places courteous good-breeding is the rule, and the foreigner's ignorant blunders are passed over with bland indifference.

521. Ngu a tua: Muttering of commoner.

A commoner may be vexed at something and complain but his anger is little regarded because of his social inferiority and consequent powerlessness. Another possible rendering is, "power or might of a commoner," but the application would be much the same as above. (See No. 522.)

522. Ngungulu a feiumu: Grumbling of cook.

Very similar to No. 521. A no account man like a cook may do a lot of grumbling but all the same he has to do what he is told and get about his job whether he likes it or not.

523. Ngutu tamulea: Officious mouth.

Used of a commoner officiously expressing his opinion in the affairs of chiefs, or generally of one putting in his say where it is not wanted.

524. Tala be i tua mamao: Report far outside; that is, the reports and conjectures of those who are far from the center of things where only the truth is to be discovered.

The compounds of the chiefs were fenced and only the *matapules* and the chosen few could have access to the councils of the great lords, therefore the conjectures of the rank and file outside the fence were likely to be far from the truth. The word *tua*, translated above "outside" is also used of the common people and "*tua mamao*" may mean "common people far down the social scale" rather than "far outside." In either case the meaning is the same: the unreliable reports circulated in the conversation of those who have no means of knowing the truth.

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539 554 627 **525. Tonuhia ae faiekina:** The innocence of the oppressed, or the oppressed is innocent.

This takes a very pessimistic view of the course that justice is apt to run when dealing with the poor and unfriended. The poor man is in the right, but what then? He has none to take his part.

539 565 **526. Tua fehui ua:** Commoner asking twice.

It is not good form for a commoner to question a chief about the subject of his conversation. Should a commoner question a chief and the latter take no notice of the inquiry the commoner would lay himself open to the rebuke of this phrase if he repeated his interrogation.

539 829 **527. Tua tala matangi:** Commoner telling wind.

Baker renders the phrase: "One forward with his opinion of the wind, though among sailors."

539 565 **528. Tua tangata kae eiki fekau:** The man a commoner but the bidding (of) a chief.

This means that one chief has sent a messenger to another chief bidding him do something. Although the herald is a man of no account yet chief number two has to take notice of his message because it comes from lord number one.

539 565 829 **529. Tuki a-tua:** Striking of commoner.

This striking is not that done with the fist or a club. It is the impinging of speech on one's mental processes. The common people are not well informed or skilled in affairs, and the phrase indicates the confusing of counsel by the unwise suggestions and ill-founded speculations of the uninstructed multitude.

539 183 [137] [262] [283] **530. Vale ngau fau:** Fool chewing hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*); a fool who chews hibiscus.

Term of abuse, but it is not apparent why chewing the hibiscus should be chosen as a special mark of folly, except that the plant is useless as food. The bark of the hibiscus is frequently used as a lashing and is often torn from the branch with the teeth to be utilized in this way. It is possible that the expression may have arisen as a designation of those who had to perform menial tasks; but we have no information on this matter.

CHIEFS

539 565 **531. Aoao ki majijiva:** Useful to poor; according to Baker "kind, thoughtful to the poor."

The care of the chiefs and provision of clothing, bedding and food for them was a heavy tax on the people. This phrase signifies primarily a chief who was easy to get along with; who was satisfied with whatever was at hand.

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532. Eiki pea oi: Chief and striving.

The expression refers to a chief who, although he is a chief and able to enjoy his rank in safety and affluence, is not satisfied and sets on foot schemes by which he hopes to gain more. The upshot of his endeavors is the loss of what he had. Generally of a man who is not contented with the prosperity he has, will not leave well alone, and who through his discontented strivings comes off worse than he was before.

533. Hau ki nima: Lord to (by) hand.

Refers primarily to those chiefs who enjoyed great prestige not by right of birth but by right of conquest. Used generally of those who acquire privilege or status by violence.

534. Hau pea kui: King and blind.

Used of one who is a king but is regardless of the interests of his people. Especially it is employed of one who before his elevation to such high rank manifested good qualities that marked him as one fit for rule, but on succeeding to kingship changed to harshness and incapacity to win his people's affections. Not unlike Tacitus' "Fully capable of rule if he had never ruled."

535. Hongea moe houeiki: Enduring famine with the chiefs.

The chiefs were the great reservoirs into which flowed the food and wealth of the country; it was indeed tabu to eat the more valued kinds of food without first presenting the chiefs with their proper share. In times of scarcity the rank and file came off very badly but those who had the good fortune to be closely associated with the great chiefs were in the way of getting a share of whatever sustenance the country afforded. (Compare No. 544.)

536. Koe lau ia he koe tala ki he tui: That's talk. What, is it telling the king?

Used derisively by one man to another who threatens to report his conduct to a third person. Much like, "Pooh, what do I care if you do tell so-and-so? Is he the king that I should mind him?" (See No. 569.)

537. Lea hange ha Pelehake: Speak like a Pelehake.

The Pelehake is one of the great chiefly houses of Eastern Tongatabu. We have not discovered whether the Pelehake had any special connection with ceremonial or other speech or whether this proverb refers to the fact that the chiefs generally were the great repositories of information about correct and graceful language and ceremony. The phrase means to speak well, with well-modulated resonant voice and forceful, graceful diction.

538. Oku hiki mai pe ho mua vala ka koe Haafeva pe koe: The front of your *tula* is lifted but you are only a Haafeva man.

This refers to the chiefly *tula* or dress, called *tukai*, which consists of a very large piece of native cloth wrapped in several thicknesses round

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the waist, and with the outside end rather high up on the left side of the front of the body. This whole dress covers the body much farther up than does the ordinary *vala* or waist-cloth. It is said that a foreigner called Fauolo went to live in the island of Haafeva in Haapai and that his daughter bore a son to a chief belonging to the Tui Tonga's family. A child who is chiefly on one side only is said to be *ila, ila* to, or of, such a chief. Fauolo's grandson gave himself the airs of a great chief, and this phrase is the rebuke administered to him by chiefs whose birth was noble on both sides. The expression may be used generally as a rebuff to those who wish to pass themselves off as something greater than they really are but is especially the taunt of chiefs whose blood is chiefly on both the father's and the mother's side to chiefs whose birth is plebeian on one side.

539. Pule faaoa: Rule violently seized.

Scarcely perhaps to be classed strictly with proverbial expressions. It means authority which has been usurped, or grasped by the strong hand.

540. Talafono a Pakava: Instructions of Bakava.

Bakava was a Fijian chief who used to give instructions to his people that they must not eat the *tava* (*Pometia pinnata*), a pleasantly flavored edible fruit, while he held himself exempted from his own "tabu," and freely plucked and ate the forbidden fruit. This expression is applied to a chief who prohibits to his people a privilege which he himself enjoys.

THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

[The Tui Kanokupolu is a great chief of Western Tongatabu into whose hands regal power was more and more passing with the decline of the Tui Tonga. The birth of several notable warriors and statesmen into this family and the trend of events after the introduction of Christianity have resulted in placing the present constitutional monarchy of the whole Tongan group in the hands of this house. The title of the King or Queen of Tonga is now Tui Kanokupolu.]

541. Faka-Pangai: Pangai fashion.

Pangai is the name of the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu and there are a number of localities scattered through the group which bear this name on account of their association with the Tui Kanokupolu. When presenting food to the Tui Kanokupopolu the donors would desire to make their gifts seemly and consonant with the dignity of the great chief. Small gifts, therefore, would be wrapped up in large coverings and placed in capacious baskets. The expression, which is confined to gifts of food, is "applied to small quantities of food put into large baskets." (Baker.)

542. Koe moa kehe oku uua i Pangai: It's a different cock that is crowing in Pangai.

Pangai is the name of the place where the Tui Kanokupolu holds his court and has become the proper name of several localities in the Tongan

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group, certainly in many instances, and probably in all, through association with the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression indicates one who has no right to the privilege of speaking in the royal *malae*, or meeting ground. The expression is used, as would be a similar phrase in English, as a rebuke to one who speaks where it would be more seemly for him to keep silent.

543. Laujii faka-Hihifo: Narrow in the western way.

Hihifo, meaning literally the point where the sun sets, is the general name given to the western districts of the various islands. Here the district indicated is the western part of Tongatabu, which is narrow, and whose circumscribed area one might naturally expect to find reflected in a paucity of provisions. It is the seat of the great Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship, and its people by a wise use of their resources never fail to set forth a ceremony or banquet with true chiefly munificence. The phrase is used of those who by their prudence overcome the niggardliness of nature.

544. Nonofo mo Tukuaho kae fie kai gako: Living with Tukuaho yet in want of rich food (literally fat).

This is a very unlikely contingency, for Tukuaho, one of the Tui Kanokupolu who reigned at the close of the 18th century, was a great chief and those in close contact with him would be sure to be well supplied with the best food that the country could furnish. See No. 535 for a similar expression of the belief that the vicinity of the great chiefs was the place to find the best provisions that the country afforded.

545. Oua e tangi ke tatau Naa ita a Taufaahau: Don't desire to be equal Lest Taufaahau be angry.

Evidently of recent origin, as the use of the name Taufaahau began with the famous George Tupou I, whose name it was. The sense is, smaller folk should not try to make themselves the equals of such a mighty chief.

THE TUI TONGA

[The Tui Tonga and his house were the pinnacles of Tongan nobility, claiming descent from the gods. The sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tui Tonga Fefine, Female Tui Tonga, and had rank superior even to the Tui Tonga himself. Since a Female Tui Tonga who was sister of the reigning Tui Tonga did not lose her rank if her brother pre-deceased her, but held it till her own death, the Female Tui Tonga was either aunt or sister to the contemporary Tui Tonga. The first child of the Female Tui Tonga by one of two special chiefs was the topmost pinnacle of Tongan nobility, particularly if a daughter. This first born child was called the Tamaha. Should a son be born to the Female Tui Tonga and afterwards a daughter it would seem that the daughter was the Tamaha. There appears however to be a little laxity in the use of this title. The actual power of the Tui Tonga has evidently been declining for centuries, and passing more and

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of the general behavior and ceremonial connected with dances, kava, and other matters whose chief center and exposition is in the Tui Tonga's court. To live in the midst of opportunity and yet to obtain little advantage from it. 539 644 276 535

549. Pulu e tuku: Easy with the rope; let down gently. 539

The *tuku* is in this instance the rope with which the slab was lowered on to the top of a vault. It is said that the man whose duty it was to arrange the body of a Tui Tonga in the vault would often try to steal one of the fine mats wound round the dead chief's body. To be able the better to accomplish this purpose he would endeavor to get one of his friends on the end of the rope with which the stone cover was lowered over the grave, and would adjure him to let down slowly. If he were shut in the grave he would have to stay there and die, as the vault could not be opened to let him out without imperilling the life of the new Tui Tonga who had just succeeded. 643 764

We have heard this phrase repeated with the addition "that I may live"; "Let down gently that I may live," which looks as though at one period the man who descended into the vault ran some danger of being shut in even without wasting time down below trying to steal valuables from the body of the chief. One might hazard the conjecture that it marks a transition from a period when the man who went down into the grave with the Tui Tonga always stayed there and that the story of the mat stealing is an invention of later times. In front of a row of Langis, or Tui Tonga vaults in Mua, Tongatabu, is a row of smaller vaults which are said to be the escorts to the larger Tui Tonga graves to which they are contiguous. It is stated that these vaults contain the bodies of the *matapules* of the Tui Tonga, though there is no statement that the *matapules* were made eligible for the grave for the special purpose of occupying their proper official position in the entourage of their dead chiefs. Sometimes the expression is enlarged, *Pulu ho tuku tata ho vae*, Let go gently with your rope, dig in your feet. [644]

Proverbially the expression means to go slowly and give one a chance of escape.

550. Sani Tungua: Tungua glory. 539

The island of Tungua, in the Haapai group, although it is tiny and out of the way, was yet the residence of the Tamaha, the child of the Female Tui Tonga the peak of Tongan nobility. The Female Tui Tonga also seems to have spent much time there. One of the two chiefs who were the usual mates for the Female Tui Tonga holds this island as part of his estates and the modern holders of the title have frequently resided there. All this chiefliness clinging about the islet of Tungua is the boast of its people but the expression "*Sani Tungua*," rather strangely, is used ironically of one who boasts of what he will do for another and what he will give to him but who has not the material backing to make good his words. The idea evidently is that the resources of the little island are not commensurate with its chiefly pretensions. 644 539 183 829

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539 644 183 **551. Tutungia a hulu Tungua:** Shrivelling of Tungua leaf.

A thing that is past its prime or damaged, but yet valued. Tungua was a residence of the great chief women, the Female Tui Tonga, and the Tamaha. The expression is said to have originated in the fact that there was once a Female Tui Tonga who suffered from some facial disfigurement. She apparently is the shrivelled Tungua leaf. Whatever misfortune might befall so great a personage she was still the Female Tui Tonga, and so to be regarded with reverence.

539 571 643 644 **552. Tuanaki Auka:** Depending on Auka.

Tradition says that Auka was one of the men in close attendance upon the Tui Tonga, Telea. On account of a wrong committed by Talafaiva, the wife of Telea, Auka was bidden by his royal master to take her and kill her. Auka performed the Tui Tonga's bidding to the letter, much to the chagrin of the latter, who loved Talafaiva dearly and who supposed that Auka knew his heart sufficiently well to understand that he did not really desire his harsh order to be carried out. Hence a vain confidence, to depend on one who does not come up to expectation.

539 643 648 173 **553. Vete fakafutuna:** Plunder like the Futunans, that is, to plunder completely, strip of everything.

The Tui Tonga, Kauulufonuafekai (16th century?) the great voyager and warrior, went in pursuit of the two men, Tamajia and Malofafa, who had murdered his father Takalaua, the previous Tui Tonga. Kauulufonuafekai and his brothers pursued the murderers from island to island, at length coming up with them in Futuna in the New Hebrides. A battle followed after which the Tongans withdrew to a small island called Alofa, but by a misadvertence Latu-toevave, the youngest brother of the Tui Tonga, was left behind on the island where the battle was fought. The Futunans did not kill him but by his advice did obeisance on the following day to the victorious Kauulufonuafekai. Peace was made between Futuna and the Tongans and the Tui Tonga, in recognition of the kindness of his late foes in sparing the life of his brother, ceded to them the right to take for their own any Tongan boat that might touch at their shores, and all that it contained, stipulating only that the people should in no way be molested. This right has been exercised by the people of Futuna and has apparently been carried out so thoroughly as to pass into a proverb.

(Compare the Samoan word *faatafuna*, to lay waste. Possibly *tafuna* became *fatuna* by metathesis and then through misunderstanding was altered to *futuna*, the name of the island.)

KAVA

276 [137] 276 576 565 554 [The dried root of the kava (*Piper methisticum*) is ground and well mixed with water. The dregs of solid root are strained out and the infusion drunk. It is the indispensable adjunct of ceremonies, and even a party of friends sitting together do not drink kava without a considerable amount of formality. Proper precedence in the kava circle is most carefully observed. A chief's rank is accurately indicated not only by his position in the ring but also by the order in which he is served.]

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539 181 **559. Fakatoa tele:** Do-or-die courage, or rather, like a do-or-die hero.

Meaning and application follow closely the English.

539 726 181 **559a. Fakate a Halia:** Marshalling of Halia.

Used of a numerous crowd of people who, in spite of their numbers, are inefficient and unable to carry out the work for which they were assembled. It is said that the phrase originated with certain fighting at Halia, in the island of Foa, in Haapai. One of the armies engaged was large but was defeated by its less numerous antagonists.

539 183 701 **560. Kuo totoa hono nima:** His hand is bloody.

The warrior who has slain one man is thereby incited to further warlike deeds. Generally of the encouragement to further effort which is given by initial successes.

539 721 183 **561. Longolongo ai valu:** Omen of war.

Used with much the same meaning and range of application as the English "Calm before the storm." The last two words of this phrase are Fijian, and it is possible that the whole phrase may have been brought from Fiji, and the Fijian *rougorongo* modified in the usual way to *longolongo*. *Rongorongo* is the same word, however, as the Tongan *longolongo*.

539 726 571 **562. Malanga fai i he ate:** Speech made in the *ate*.
Malanga fai mei he ate: Speech made from the *ate*.

The *ate* is a shrub. The expression indicates being too late in speaking about a thing, or in preferring a request.

The story is that in the fighting of about a hundred years ago one of the regiments from the east of Tongatabu, the Pelehake regiment, dug a great trench in the western part of the island, with the object, it is said, of cutting off the western district from the remainder of Tongatabu. They worked hard and performed prodigies of labor during the night and at about daybreak bathed and rested. The great Vahai, the most formidable of their opponents, happened to sail along in his canoe near to the spot where they had bathed, and noticed the oily appearance of the water, due to the washing of the warriors' heads, and the marks where clay had been turned up (clay being the detergent used by the bathers). Vahai could see by these signs that a great number of people had bathed and guessed at once that so numerous a body of men could be nothing but an army. Landing with his own men to investigate the matter he found the Pelehake people all asleep and slew them. Among the doomed host was one warrior, evidently a fighter of renown, who was standing upright with his eyes open. Vahai thought him awake but in reality he was fast asleep. Vahai pierced him with his spear and the sleeper, suddenly awaked, jumped aside into the bushes *(ate)* and begged for his life, but in vain. He was slain with his companions. Hence this expression indicates an unavailing petition, a request that is made too late.

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539 726 701 824 [137] cut down another grows up. In either case the reference is to the same thing, the labors and struggles of one mighty man who has fallen are taken up by another. This proverb appears in a couplet, "*Ta e tea tuu e toa, Iloga he vale bea hola.*" "A champion has fallen, a champion stands, let him who is unskilled flee."

569. Tala pea taki mai ha tau: Tell and bring an army.

539 571 Like number 536 a derisive retort to one who threatens to report one's conduct. Tell and bring an army to back up your censure. What difference is it going to make if you do tell so-and-so? Is there going to be an army sent to punish me? The same idea is expressed also by *Tala pea e fai ha tau:* Tell, and is there going to be a war?

539 721 571 183 **570. Tata langovaka:** Striking compensation, that is, fighting again to compensate for a previous defeat.

One will use his utmost endeavors to make good the earlier defeat. Used generally of putting forth one's full effort so as to compensate for a previous failure.

539 725 183 **571. Tau kovi pea kovi hono toi:** Bad fighting and bad hiding.

A skillful leader may make good the deficiency in numbers of his troops by a wise use of cover. This indicates a state of things that was bad enough in the beginning and was not remedied by judicious management.

539 726 194 **572. Tofi-kulu:** Head splitting; a knock-out blow.

Used of a final, decisive stroke, an unanswerable argument. The word *kulu*, head, is interesting as showing the initial *k* which has been replaced in the ordinary form of the word by the glottal stop.

539 726 461 183 **573. Tulituli ta:** Chasing up (the) stroke.

An expression from warfare, indicating one who is pursuing a fleeing foe and is just about within striking distance. Applied to one who is putting forth all his effort to accomplish something which he is on the point of bringing off.

539 726 276 554 **574. Vava faka-Vaipoa:** Rejoicing Vaipoa-like.

Vaipoa is a village in Vavau. The phrase is applied to joyful expectations that are not realized. The expression is said to have originated with a great warrior named Mahina who lived in Vaipoa. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, in this case the first, the chief's own. On one occasion Mahina with his fellows of Vaipoa was on a warlike expedition and at the kava preceding the battle Mahina pledged himself to slay the first of the enemy

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539 524 183 555 **577. Aufua a Tefuli:** Coming up the side of Tefuli.

This is an expression from the game of *lafo*, in which Tefuli was a past master. The expression indicates that which is excellent, manifests wonderful skill. Tefuli was a man of no particular rank who lived in Feletoa with the chief Ulukalala, probably the Ulukalala (Finau) who was Mariner's friend. Tefuli was extraordinarily skillful at *lafo* and could at will make the pieces go to the very edge of the mat and even project slightly over the edge without falling. It is related of him that on one occasion he visited Tongatabu and went to Mua, and played there at *lafo* with one of the Tui Tonga family as his partner. The match was very close, each side having scored two games, and in the fifth game, the final one, they were equal within one point of the game. In the final throw all of Tefuli's pieces went over the edge of the mat, while his opponent's stood in good scoring positions from which it was practically impossible to dislodge them, until Tefuli's last throw, when he made his piece slide along the edge of the mat, round his opponent's pieces, and balance itself delicately overhanging the edge, an almost impossible feat. Only after this exploit did it become known that the wonderful player was none other than Tefuli. For this exploit he received gifts and land. Before the final throw his partner had promised him that if he did not succeed with it he would put him to death. The phrase has accordingly a proverbial application in addition to the accomplishment of the seemingly impossible, namely that in which it is death to fail.

539 524 **578. Fua tuku ulu:** Measure concluding game (*ulu*).

An expression from *lafo*. In the event of a dispute arising as to which of two pieces is nearer to the mark it may be agreed that the distance be measured, and the game *(ulu)* decided straightway by that measure, quite irrespective of the points which each side had already scored. It may even happen that the game be won in this way although there are other pieces nearer to the edge of the mat than the two over which the discussion arose. Used of a decision or judgment which is to close dispute, is to be final.

579. Kai pe ae toekai: The *toekai* naturally scores.

In *lafo* the man who threw last was called *toekai* (this was also the name of one of the pieces), and the man who threw first was called *tuku-mua* (also the name of a piece). The *toekai*, having the last shot, had the best chance of scoring, and with players evenly matched almost invariably did score. In general the phrase indicates the success of one who is most advantageously placed; it goes without saying that such an one will be the successful party.

539 524 576 565 554 **580. Mata lafo lau kai:** Looking on at *lafo* counting score.

It is a piece of unforgiveable presumption for the onlookers to call out the score. *Lafo* was preeminently a chiefs' game and players would usually be of superior rank to the spectators. It is said that in earlier days a man might be struck down for venturing to utter the score aloud if he were not playing himself. Much like the English "Mind your own business."

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581. Nai huni: Sparing oil-rag. A *lafo* term. 539 524 183

The *huni* is a small piece of cloth on to which oil was poured to rub on the pieces to make them run smoothly. A man may use the oil very sparingly for fear of making his piece too greasy, thus causing them to travel too easily and too far. This expression is applied to one who, afraid of over-doing the oil, has overdone his caution with the upshot that his piece has come short. Used of one who is cautious and sparing in the use of his material and has thereby failed in that at which he aimed.

582. Olo faka-lafo-koa: Deceit, device, after the manner of *lafo-koa;* allurement by strategem (Baker). 539 524 525

Lafo-koa is a game of *lafo* played for stakes. The players make remarks to each other to put their opponents off their game, though it is against the rules to do this to a man as he is actually about to throw. This "barracking" is common to all games of *lafo* but probably there would be more all round keenness where stakes were involved. As applied generally the idea of the expression seems to be that just as one may think of something clever to say to hamper an opponent's play, or perhaps think of some clever device to bring off a successful throw, so may he invent some ingenious method of accomplishing his purpose whatever it may be.

583. Oua te ke mata-fala ua: Don't be at two ends of the mat. 539 524

A *lafo* expression. In a game with two on each side the pair of opponents sitting together at each end of the mat adjust differences, discuss and decide which is the scoring piece. When the game is played by groups of five, one of each of these fives, namely the one called the *tockai* who throws last, performs the offices of umpire in consultation with the *tockai* of the opposing side who sits next to him. The *tockai* sit facing each other at the ends of the mat while the rest of the teams sit around the corner at the side. This phrase is a rebuke to a man who wishes to interfere in the consultations and decisions of the players at the opposite end of the mat. Generally, to mind one's own business. [183]

584. To to motua paanga: Falling, falling large piece.

The reference is to the large piece, in the game of *lafo*, falling upon and sweeping from the mat the smaller pieces. One large piece may sweep from the mat several of the smaller pieces. One who is strong brushing aside all the opposition of even a number of puny adversaries. [578]

585. Va kaunahu: Edge of *nahu* space.

The edge of the mat in *lafo* used to be raised by bolstering up with a bed of *nahu*, a sort of fern. The *kaunahu*, *nahu* edge, therefore, is the raised cushion along the side of the mat which skillful players are able to use with great effect. The space, interval, road, of the *nahu* edge is a difficult shot which a good player can bring off by using the raised sides of the mat. Used generally of that which is difficult but not impossible.

586. Va puna: Jumping distance.

A *lafo* expression indicating that the pieces of two opponents are close together but not touching, so that one player is able to throw a second

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539 524 piece and knock his opponent's piece off the mat, make it jump off the mat, without disturbing his own first piece. If this move is brought off successfully the man who makes it will have two pieces of his own in good positions, and will have put one of his opponent's pieces out of action. Proverbially it means that there is an obstacle ahead but it can be shifted.

HEU LUPE

223 The sport of *heu lupe*, pigeon catching, was carried out on a mound. Trained pigeons were used as decoys, and when the quarry approached near enough it was caught in a large net mounted on a pair of long handles hinged near the bottom end. The man who manipulated the net closed the mouth of it when the pigeon was inside by bringing the hinged handles together.

539 223 **587. Ala i jia ala i kolonga:** Skillful in *jia*, skillful in *kolonga*.

This expression originates in the sport of pigeon snaring. The mound where the snaring was actually carried out is called the *jia* and the place where the work (largely culinary) necessary for the comfort of the sportsmen was done is called the *kolonga*. This expression means literally a man whose energy and ability are equally conspicuous in either place, and is freely used of a good all-round man.

[157] [829]

588. Fakalaa i jia melie: Enduring sun on lucky pigeon mound.

Although the principal times for the pigeon snaring are the morning and evening, yet one will put up with the inconveniences of the midday sun if the sport be good. So in any pursuit one will put up with inconveniences and hardships so long as his object is attained.

[183]

589. Fakalaa i jia tamaki: Enduring sun in bad pigeon-mound.

[183] The reverse of No. 589; enduring hardship and inconvenience for what after all proves to be not worth the pains.

590. Faka-mui-manoa: At end of tethering cord.

The *manoa* is the cord with which the tame decoy pigeon was tied. However far the pigeon went it could always be traced along the cord, provided that the near end of the cord was still in hand. It is applied to a thing that has been out of sight for some time, but is at last traced up and found.

[521] Another explanation given is that the decoy pigeon has reached its quarry without all the cord running out, there is still more to follow, and it is said to be applied to a conversation or other employment discontinued for the time, but "to be continued in our next." (See No. 591.)

591. Motu manoa: Separated (from) tethering cord.

The cord with which a decoy pigeon is tied has run out to its full length and been let go. Applied to a thing which is finished; there is no more to follow.

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592. Koe fakanavau ke ha? To mark for what? 539 223 422 431 571

The *navau* is a distinguishing mark fixed to the body of an animal, particularly the mark tied to the leg of the tame decoy pigeon. This is used of marking what is obvious; what is the use of marking what is plain to everyone? It is also used as a very open-hearted and genial response to one who comes to make a request. What are you asking for? Anything that I have and you want, just take and welcome.

593. Kuku kaunaka: Grasp handle. 539 223 183

A phrase of the pigeon snaring, being an injunction to the men who handled nets to hold the handles firmly lest the birds escape. Like *"Pukepuke a fufula,"* "Seize the big pig," it is an exhortation to devote one's attention and energy to the task in hand.

594. Mounu vaoa: Decoy pigeon taken to the woods.

Applied to one who has relapsed into bad old habits, like the decoy bird who after all his taming and training has gone wild again.

BOXING, WRESTLING, CUDGEL PLAY

[These sports often formed part of important ceremonies and celebrations.] 526

595. Ta ji ta lahi ta atu pea ke tangi: Little one hits, big one hits, go on hitting, and you will cry. 539 526 571 578 829

The little one can cause very little pain to the big chap by his blows, but the big fellow can make himself felt by the little one. So if it comes to an exchange of blows between the big chap and the little chap it will end in tears for the little one.

This is a word of wisdom, advising the little fellow to be modestly cautious about whom he undertakes to fight.

596. Va feinofi: Striking distance. 539 526

Primarily a boxing phrase, particularly of the sport called *toutakao* in which a number of combatants participated, men choosing their opponents more or less at random. *Feinofi* means shaping at each other, challenging each other, and *va feinofi* is used of two men who are close enough to each other to spar. Thence simply "close."

597. Fetaaki a feiloaki: Cudgel play of men used to each other.

This indicates that each man gives a fine exhibition, as, being accustomed to the other's strokes and style, his own game has the precision that such experience always gives. The point that is emphasized is that both men fight like experts. (See Nos. 468 and 469.)

598. Ojioji palalafa: Coconut-leaf stem finished.

The coconut-leaf stem was used in practising for the club or single-sticks matches *(fetaaki)*. To finish the coconut-leaf stem, or to do one's

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539 526 utmost with the coconut-leaf stem, means to put one's whole strength and energy into this practice. The expression seems to be used particularly of team work, to do one's best for his team. These old contests were between teams though the combats were between individuals from either side.

539 526 183 152 **599. Teu toka ka koe tue:** I shall lie down, but the shouting.

This is an expression from the ring. The lying down indicated is the being thrown down in wrestling. To be overcome and even to sustain severe injury is a thing that can be easily endured, but the shouting of the onlookers is quite another thing. Therein lies the unendurable shame of defeat. Baker renders the phrase, "To yield to fate but to fear derision."

539 526 **600. Toka a puka:** Lying of pig.

An expression from wrestling, indicating that both wrestlers have fallen and that it is difficult to see who is getting the upper hand. The confused forms of the combatants would seem to be likened to a pig rolling on the ground. Used generally of an evenly contested match of any kind when it is hard to say who is the stronger.

601. Toka ki malae: Lying on (the) green, that is, on the green where such sports as boxing and wrestling are held.

This indicates one who has been defeated in a wrestling match, and has measured his length on the grass. In spite of his defeat there is to his credit that he had the courage to enter the contest and try.

602. Mafi to ki haa tuele: The explanation of this is forgotten by the present generation of Tongans, but the meaning given by Baker is: "To challenge when and where there is no prospect of an antagonist."

A literal translation of the first part seems to be: "Victory falling to *haa tuele*," but the difficulty is to place the *haa tuele*. *Haa* is the ordinary word for a tribe, clan, but it is used very widely of almost any group of people associated together according to different principles, such as similarity of occupation. *Tuele* may be the proper name of some tribe, or clan, perhaps Samoan, but a not improbable conjecture is that it is the Samoan word *tuele*, meaning to stand on the ground, and that the phrase indicates that victory is going to those who merely stand on the ground and have no opponents to contend with. This is consonant with the interpretation given by Baker. It seems to be a phrase belonging to sports such as boxing, wrestling, single-sticks. [57]

VELO FA AND JIKA

526 [*Velo fa* is the sport of throwing a dart at a mark; *jika* is distance throwing with light darts.]

539 526 **603. Tali fa:** Receiving pandanus.

Although this translation is a literal rendering of the words it does not properly express the sense, which is rather that of making right with

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the pandanus. This is from the sport of *velo fa*, shooting at a mark consising of a piece of the trunk of the pandanus tree set up on end, the aim being to make the dart stand in the top of the pandanus stake. Sometimes a bunch of the fruit of the pandanus was hung up as the mark. In this sport the Tui Tonga, if he took part, threw last, and a man was stationed near the mark to catch the dart of this august chief and stick it into the mark. This man, and his duty, were both called *tali fa*. The expression is used of favoritism,—of securing success by extraneous assistance rather than one's own excellence. 539 526 539 526 643 [183]

604. Holi fa: Striving for pandanus. 539

This is from the game of *velo fa*. (See No. 603.) The phrase indicates a dart that has almost, but not quite, succeeded in sticking in the mark. It is used generally of a failure that is very near to success. 526

605. Jii kae amo: Short yet winning.

This is a word from the sport of *jiko*, dart-throwing. In the long distance throwing contest the dart of the biggest chief taking part was frequently turned over length-wise if it were almost, but not quite, the best throw. This was adding a handicap of a dart's length to the chief's cast. The limit of this assistance to the chief was apparently three turns, three dart lengths. If with this handicap the chief was ahead he was reckoned the winner. 539 526 623 565

The expression is used proverbially of an undertaking which has succeeded, not by the unaided merit of its performance, but through extraneous help. [183]

606. Hange ha kaho halia: Like a glancing reed. 539

This is from the sport of *jiko*, in which the dart was thrown so as to glance on a piece of level ground, or sometimes on a small mound, and ricochet on to a further distance. He who threw furthest won. The reed is the dart. A well thrown dart went on with fresh energy after glancing, and so the expression is applied to a fleet-footed runner, and generally to a willing and energetic performer in any sport or labor. 526

FANIFO

[The fine sport of *fanifo*, surf-riding in which the skill of the Tongans, as of other Polynesian peoples, evoked the wondering admiration of early travellers, seems now to be rarely, if ever, practised in Tonga.] 526

607. Auhia a motua fanifo: Man carried away by the current (or waves) who is skillful in the sport of shooting the breakers. 539 526

For an unskilled person to be carried out is a matter of grave concern, but for the man thoroughly at home amongst the waves no anxiety need be felt. So of the affairs of life generally, we may see a man involved in difficulties, but knowing, and having confidence in his energy and ability, we have no misgiving but that he will successfully win through. 183

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539 526 183 **608. Fanifo kave papa:** Surf-riding, borne by board.

The man who is not very skillful at the sport depends entirely on his board to get safely over the breakers, whereas to the real expert the board is a matter of indifference. Applied to the man who gets safely over his difficulties rather through assistance afforded him than by his own intrinsic merits.

609. Holo pe tuu he koe ngalu e faji: Keep places, for the wave will break.

An expression taken from the sport of riding the breakers *(fanifo)*. It may happen that the swimmers have to wait a considerable time for a suitable breaker, and that some of them will become impatient and begin to swim about or to divert themselves in some other way rather than watch attentively for a good wave: but the advice of the expert is to keep continually ready for the wave when it comes; only thus can one be sure of utilising opportunity when it does present itself. It is an exhortation to watchful patience.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 224 283 **610. Fai mai e hele pulu ki he hele kalava:** Snare of coconut husk brought to snare of fibre of the coconut leaf stem.

Of these two snares that made of the fibres taken from the stem of the leaf is tougher and stronger than that made of fibres from the husk of the ripe fruit. If these two sorts of cord were knotted together and a strain put on at the ends the weaker would break.

[571] Applied to a man trying to get the better of one who is stronger or cleverer than himself.

539 526 **611. Hange ha hapohapo tangamimi:** Like catching a bladder.

The pig's bladder is frequently taken and blown up, thrown about and caught by children at play, but on account of its lightness it is apt to bounce from the hands and is hard to catch. Used of boats tossed about by the waves, and generally of that which is elusive and difficult to get a firm hold of.

539 524 **612. Hange ha moli touhuhu:** Like a stabbed shaddock.

Originates in a boys' game called *touhuhu*, stabbing. A shaddock was suspended by a cord at a convenient height above the ground and the players stood round armed with small sharp sticks. The shaddock was sent swinging round and the boys made jabs at it with their sticks. A point was scored whenever the shaddock was impaled on the sticks, each player counting his own points. The score ran from six to ten, that is, the player won who first pierced the fruit five times. The shaddock by this treatment [701] was soon battered and war-worn. The phrase is applied especially to a much wounded warrior, and generally in the same way as we speak of a person or thing that is much scarred, war-worn.

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613. Luki aka fai ki Fiji: Challenging Fiji to a kicking match. 539 829 648

Used of an immoderate boast or challenge. Fiji is a country far from Tonga, and its inhabitants are numerous. To challenge Fiji, therefore, is doubly an immoderate boast. To reach the scene of action is no mean task, and when the initial difficulty of navigation is overcome one's hands will be more than full with so many antagonists.

614. Matakai ngalo oua e kau ai: Don't count a forgotten *matakai*. 539 524

This refers primarily to the game of *fiji*, or flipping, which consists in flipping one by one a bundle of small light sticks from the bottom of an inverted basket, or some such stand, across which they are laid. The *matakai* in this instance are the sticks. When a player has successfully flipped all the sticks (not so easy by the way as it looks) he says, "no forgotten sticks are to count," thus saving himself from all penalty should any be found to have dropped down and been overlooked. The expression comes to be a sort of general forestalling of the effects of any sins of omission

615. Tua ka matakai pipiki: A chap to stick to the matakai.

The *matakai* is the object with which the game of *liaki*, and other games, were played. This phrase refers to the game of *liaki*, in which one player held a small object such as an orange seed between two fingers, clenching the fist. The man who held the *matakai* put his clenched fists out in front of him while his opponent, without touching him, tried to make him laugh or squirm and drop the *matakai*. A man who was invulnerable to all the attacks made on his nerves or risibility was able to keep his fists tight shut and hold the *matakai*. Applied to one who is adept at sticking [157] to things, who keeps a firm hold on his property, and also applied to one who keeps his own counsel.

DANCING

616. Haka i langi tau: Dancing to suitable music. 539 535 533

Where the music is good and rhythmic the dancing will be easy and attractive, a fit vehicle of rejoicing and calculated to cause pleasure to the beholders. Strictly the word *langi* seems to denote rather the line or group of singers than the music itself. This phrase, written as one word, is freely used in the sense of joy, rejoicing.

617. Malanga i faiva: Getting up during dance. 539 535 183 [524] [526]

The word *faiva* is not confined to dances but is applied also to games and sports and generally to any employment requiring skill. The idea of this phrase is that of a man who should go, say, to a dance, not as a performer but simply as a spectator; but who during the dance is moved to get up and join in, though he has not practised for the occasion. He stands there in all his unpractised awkwardness among those who have perfected themselves in the movements. A useful warning for extemporaneous speakers. [537]

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539 535 776 [787] [793] **618. Nofo a mama kae kailao e fakafaanga:** Men doing nothing while the gods dance.

More strictly *fakafaanga* seems to mean the material objects, including priests, in which the gods appeared. The phrase indicates that it is useless for men to let the gods have the entertainment of their dances while they themselves do nothing. Men are unable to share the enjoyment of the denizens of the unseen world, and so they must get to work and make their own fun.

539 535 183 868 **619. Taka i lalo hakanga:** Living below the dancing place, that is, in close proximity to it.

One who lives in a place where dances are constantly learned and performed has exceptional opportunities for becoming proficient. So the expression is used of one who enjoys great facilities for acquiring some art, knowledge, or other benefit, material, mental or spiritual.

UNCLASSIFIED PROVERBS

539 183 **620. Afi jii tupu ai e afi lahi:** Small fire, there springs from it the great fire.

A warning of the sort common in so many languages and literatures against the unwisdom of neglecting evil in its small beginnings. It is possible to use it also as an expression of the great good works that spring from humble beginnings.

539 777 [797] **621. Alualu i mala tau ki monu:** Going along in misfortune, reaching good fortune.

It is used of one who, after being long involved in ill luck, at length experiences a change of fortune and has prosperity. As a matter of actual present day experience one frequently hears it applied by the natives to their having been so long involved in the darkness of heathenism and having in these latter times come out into the light of Christianity.

[823] It is said that *Mala* (Curse, Misfortune), and *Monu* (Blessing, Good Fortune), are two places, and that one who has reached Mala finds it very difficult to return and get to Monu.

622. Alualu i monu tau ki mala: This is the reverse of No. 621.

Going along in good fortune, reaching misfortune, and is used of the change from prosperity to adversity.

539 152 571 695 **623. Fai mai ete meimei tangi:**

We have not succeeded in finding a contemporary Tongan able to explain this. All the words are in common use, and would seem to have some such meaning as "present (a case) almost weeping," as of one making a request with such earnestness that he is on the point of tears; or, taking the word *tangi* in the sense of "appeal, make a request," instead of that of "crying, weeping," we might render as, "I am come with almost a

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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request," in some uncertainty as to whether to make the request or not. Baker, however, gives the somewhat cryptic forensic phrase, "Generally repeated; used when two persons report their cases, and the one hearing is alike affected by both." (An English and Tongan Vocabulary, p. 207.)

539 152 571 695

624. Fe-toutou-mo-liliu-aki: "To wander to and fro" (Baker). Constantly changing or going to and fro.

539 157

Of the different elements of this compound *toutou* is usually employed today as an adverb meaning constantly, repeatedly. Baker gives "alternate" as another meaning, and also has it as a verb, to reciprocate. *Mo* is the conjunction and *liliu* means to change; *fe-* and *-aki* are regularly used as prefix and suffix to make verbs reciprocal or reflexive. The whole word therefore seems to denote a very high degree of instability in opinion or conduct.

625. Hange ha mumu hulu: Like trying to get warm at a fire of dried leaves; a fire that flares up and quickly dies down.

539 183

Generally of that which makes a great show but is not solid and enduring.

626. Jio kalo jio: Seeing, warning off seeing.

The seeing indicated is that of looking after one's own interests. A man, in order to get something for himself, goes to a place where he has no particular right to be and tries to drive off another who is doing the same thing.

[57]

627. Maka fetoliaki: Chipping rock with rock.

539 571

Baker translates the phrase, "To be of one mind; to use freely from each other's stores." To be of mutual benefit. It is explained as meaning literally to chip off a piece from one stone with another and then to take that piece and use it to chip a fragment from a third rock, and so on. Thus to pass a benefit on from one to another. This was illustrated by the coming of Christianity, brought by Europeans to Tonga, and taken by Tongans to Samoa and Fiji, and by Fijians to the Solomon Islands.

[797] [648]

628. Makaka noa: Hard to no purpose.

539 183 829

Noa, here translated "to no purpose" is a very largely used word, and extremely difficult to translate by an exact English equivalent. It is used in all sorts of contexts with such senses as purposeless, valueless, unreliable, being where one has no business to be, acting as one should not. In the phrase above the idea is that of a thing being hard where it should be pliable and soft. The phrase may be applied to that whose conduct is unexpected, not of a piece with the general behavior of the class of things to which it belongs. For example, the outlandish behavior of the goat has won this epithet for it. It may be used of one who goes with great vim into some job that is not really his concern.

[825]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Vavau
Pangai

This pattern of division is not a hard and fast one in all its aspects. For some of the activities the division is fixed. Thus one would certainly not expect any Pangai woman to function as an undertaker or as a church-pastor. It would also be rare for a woman to work on the building of a house frame or assist in the making of a canoe. Similarly no man would attempt to plait mats or make bark cloth. He would make *kava* only if it was impossible to find an available girl or woman when he and his friends were craving for *kava* to drink. The pattern is most flexible in regard to agriculture and cooking. Women are primarily the cooks in Pangai. But men spending all day in their plantations will often pause to make an oven and bake food for themselves, particularly if other men are present and helping them. On feast-occasions also, men and women work together with food preparation. Similarly, cultivation is mainly left to the men. Women help whenever their help is needed. Sometimes they may even do all the cultivation for the household should it be necessary. Thus Fakataha's husband was suffering from a long bout of filarial fever which kept him in his house. His children were all young. Fakataha spent day after day in the plantation doing all the rough work of clearing land, planting, and hoeing. She was sometimes assisted by her two eldest sons. Villagers admired the way she worked although they thought her unfortunate. On the other hand, Biukala, somewhat sophisticated with European ideals, was proud of the fact that his wife occupied herself entirely with domestic work and rarely left the house-lot. He felt that many village women showed interest in men's activities merely as an excuse for gadding about the bush or the village when they would be much better and more safely employed with domestic tasks.

Daily Routine

For fourteen days during the month of January, nineteen Pangai men and two Pangai women kept a daily record of their chief activities. From this consecutive record it is possible to get a rough idea of how the villager fills his day with work and play (or better, with work and non-working activities—the concept of play is not one that the villager could easily master).

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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by other villagers. A week of New Year festivity and celebration evidently performs the very useful function in village life of making plantation work appear highly desirable by contrast with the monotony of merry-making.

Organization of Work

644 General supervision over the whole of the island of Pangai because of its nature as a Royal estate is exercised by an overseer resident in Pangai village. His supervision is limited to a general care of all the lands comprising the estate to ensure that there is an adequate food-supply available for all the households of the village. He may report to government officials in Neiafu the names of those heads of households who, he considers, have not planted sufficient land to care for the needs of the household. Pressure and the threat of a possible jail-sentence would then be brought upon such men. Should it become desirable or possible to export more bananas or pineapples from [623] Vava'u, then the overseer would hold a council of the men of the village and give a strong lead and direction to an increased planting programme. At all times the overseer seeks to prevent a wilful misuse of the land or a destruction of its values.

Beyond this land-control, the duties of the overseer seem vague and ill-defined. He functions in the village at times as a sort of government representative. Official announcements of policy or government enactments generally filter through to the villagers from conversations or councils with the overseer. He is also responsible in theory [744] for seeing that laws relating to public health (such a law for instance, as that which relates to the covering of cisterns from which drinking water is drawn) are observed, though in practice the Pangai overseer shows complete indifference to such responsibilities. He maintains a residence in Pangai and another in Neiafu. His duties as estate-overseer are somewhat complicated by the fact that he also functions [502] actively as government pilot for the port of Neiafu. On the balance however, the overseer does add materially at times to the more efficient production of economic goods by the leadership he gives to agricultural activities.

461 The work of production in the Tongan village may be
476 carried on either by one man working by himself or else
183
464
571

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

by a group of men or women working together. The lone worker going quietly about his job is decidedly not the preferred pattern of work-organization. The Tongan much prefers to work with one or two friends, or else as part of a larger group working-party. He apparently works much more effectively with the stimulus that comes from being a member of a group than from any individualistic idea of advancing his own interests at the expense of others. Thus from one point of view his working habits may not show a cold, functioning efficiency. This relative lack of efficiency however, as judged by European standards, is more than outweighed for the Tongan by the values associated with working with one's fellows. No matter what the Tongan man or woman is working at, whether exploring the reef or making mats, whether husking coconuts or planting in the bush, one will always find two or more people carrying on the task together. Or if one person only is working, others will be standing or sitting around gossiping, talking, joking about past or present events. The worker must work in or with a group. Otherwise he is lost, forlorn, and uneasy of mind.

The various kinds of working-parties are given names. Thus the family working-group consisting of relatives, is termed *tou kainga ngaue;* the women's mat-making party is *tou lalanga;* a small working partnership of men is called *tou ngaue;* a larger working group is *tou tu'u.* The first two groups do not need detailed description. The family group comes together in the plantation under the direction of the household head and carries on the common task of cultivation. The women's group meets at the house of one of the members and all spend the time making mats together; or else a large group of women meet by arrangement at a set time in the year at the village bark-cloth-making house and make bark cloth while the men of the village prepare special ovens of food for a feast when the work is finished.

The men's group called *tou ngaue* consists of a team of three men working together in a sort of partnership which may last from three or four days up to two weeks. The work done is generally planting or hoeing. On the first day the men work together in A's plantation, on the second day in B's garden and on the third day in C's garden, repeating

461 the round of gardens until all the immediate work is finished.
464 Food for the day is provided by the partner on whose land
476 the work is being carried out. He generally prepares an oven
571 to feed his companions.

This method of working is common village practice. In
461 discussing it an informant threw certain human sidelights on
464 work-habits which show how this type of partnership may
476 sometimes function. This informant said he never worked
571 in partnership with anyone. He believes he gets more done
124 by himself—it is obvious that he is not a true Tongan in this
[183] respect. The working partnership, he thinks, is merely a
temptation to talk, rest, eat, and sleep rather than work.
Some men are cunning in this respect. When the partners
are working on A's field, A scorns all talk and insists on hard
work for all three men. When in B's garden however, A
thinks of the most wonderfully amusing stories to tell his
companions and so little work is done by the end of the day.
Informant mentioned the names of three men whom we had
already observed to be a working partnership. Of the three,
[157] only C was a hard worker. The other two were sophisticated
and cunning with the result that hard-working C was doing
in reality all the work for all three men. C apparently did
not realize the situation. The three men were the best of
friends and for many days on end were to be observed going
to their plantations in the morning, returning together in the
evening laughing and joking. It is obvious therefore that as
long as the utmost amount of work is not the end of activity,
the working-partnership can function to the satisfaction of
its members and get enough work done to make such
organization worth while.

461 The other type of men's working-party, the *tou tu'u*,
476 functions when it is a matter of breaking-in virgin bush-
464 land. The owner of the land gets together a group of from
241 ten to twenty men. He assigns to each man a small section
571 of the bush-land. Each man clears his own section and
[43] generally plants it with yams. From the first harvest each
man gives the owner of the land a present of from two to
five yams and keeps the remainder for himself. Taro, *kape*,
or sweet potato, may be planted instead of yams. After this
[425] first year of cultivation the owner resumes full control of his
cleared land and plants it exclusively for himself. Through

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

which he has read about. That such professional ambitions for his child may be realized Biukala has decided that he must become as much like a white man as possible: particularly in the sense of being able to read and write easily, more particularly in his possession of what to him are large amounts of ready cash. But in this respect Biukala is a deviant in village-life. He does not represent in any sense the ideals or achievements of village-culture. He is rather an example of the way in which there is within the village, minor inequality in the use that is made of some of the traits that have been taken from white culture into village-culture as the result of culture-contact.

Preparation of Foods

The preparation of food does not show great variety. The staple vegetables are cooked by grilling on hot ashes, by baking in the earth-oven, by mixing with coconut-cream and then oven-baking, and finally by boiling (either with water or coconut-cream) in an empty five-gallon kerosene can. Oven-cooking is the most troublesome method. It demands a large supply of firewood and a long wait before the food is cooked. It is always used for feast foods but for everyday eating there is a tendency for boiling to supplant the use of the oven. Food may be baked by the average household once or twice a week. For the rest, the diet is boiled food. Kerosene cans are at a premium in the village. They have, after all, many uses ranging from a food container to a baby bath. Each household likes to have more than one as part of the household furniture.

Fruits are eaten raw, crushed or squeezed and then mixed with coconut-cream, baked with coconut-cream, sometimes boiled. Apart from coconuts and papaia, however, fruit figures little in the diet of the adult. Children ranging the bush are more likely to eat substantial amounts of wild fruits. Bananas are mostly boiled while green and unripe. Ripe bananas are saved for feasts.

Pork, chicken, and meat are cooked by oven baking. Canned meats and fish are eaten as they come from the can. Fresh fish is baked, grilled, or boiled.

Green leafy vegetables are seldom eaten. Sometimes *taro* leaves are oven-baked between layers of pork fat or

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

836 were virgins. This is probably true, but it is likely that more freedom is allowed post-adolescent boys to enjoy what experiences they can in any other village than Pangai. One woman in Pangai is alleged to be a prostitute *(lele tau)*. [548] Probably she has gained this reputation because of promiscuous habits and a natural tendency on the part of some young men to bring her an occasional gift. Some after [882] dark chaperoning is also due to fear of ghosts on the part [775] of young girls, especially if messages or missions take them close to the bush that surrounds the village. But present [183] ideals of chastity in girls undoubtedly receive considerable [795] support from Christian religious sanctions. Both the ideal and the sanction are stressed continually in Protestant church teaching and in Catholic convent-schooling.

584 Nothing can suggest more vividly current practices of courtship in Pangai than the following account of events in Biukala's life that led up to his marriage:

> One day, when Biukala was twenty-three years old, his father asked him which of the many girls of his acquaintance would be his choice for a marriage-mate. Biukala answered that he was not pleased with any of these girls, some he thought were pretty only, and none of them seemed clever. Many Pangai girls had sought excuse to visit his father's house, ostensibly bringing messages for his mother, but in reality trying to display their charms before a personable young man. His father's question served the purpose of bringing the matter of his marriage before Biukala's mind, so he thought he would visit other villages to see if he could find a more suitable mate than was available in Pangai. He already had a mistress in Neiafu whom he occasionally visited, but he did not consider her seriously as a mate.

584 One day as he was on his way to visit some relatives
574 in an isolated village in Vava'u, he passed through the village
276 of Ha'akio and was casually invited to stop and drink some *kava* that was being prepared for a group of men, mostly old men with three or four younger men talking idly among themselves. The girl Sepi was making the *kava*. Biukala immediately noticed her skill, youth, and quiet assurance. He sat drinking *kava* all the afternoon and evening, studying
584 the girl carefully. Instead of going on to visit his relatives he returned to Pangai, thought about the matter for four

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

partly responsible for this. The missionary found himself outvoted by the members of his own district meeting, and the last vestige of the power of the missionaries was gone.

One of the strangest features in this struggle of opposing forces was the unwitting modification in the Christian code as taught by the missionaries themselves. The people were polygamists. Their climate, physique, and mode of life conduced to incontinence, which, however, was kept in check by a severe social code of their own. This the missionaries swept away. For the dread of immediate physical punishment which the people felt, the missionaries tried to substitute the fear of retribution in another world,—a contingency too remote to have much weight with them. The standard of social morality, never very high, was at once lowered, and the astonished missionaries tried in vain to stem the flowing tide with every penalty they could invent and enforce. Gradually their own sense of proportion became warped. The seventh commandment overshadowed all the others in their mental horizon. The police, taking their cue from the Sunday sermon, let felons go their way, and spent all their energies in tracking down philanderers. Even the Legislature, copying the early missionary codes, gave such a prominence to offences against the social laws, that, provided a man kept the seventh commandment in its widest application, he might commit almost any other crime in the calendar.

The change in the temper of the people has not taken place without a corresponding change in the spirit of the missionaries. Tonga and Fiji are no longer regarded as the fields for men of special talents. The young men sent

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Maternal uncle (fa'e tangata) and nephew and niece (ilamutu)

Even today the *ilamutu* has the privilege of making free with a *fa'e tangata*'s possessions. A man of about sixty years old told me that he had taken a bicycle, pigs, yams and so on from his four *fa'e tangata*. All his *fa'e tangata* have passed away now, but he is still able to take similar things away from their children if he wishes. Conversely, he has several *ilamutu* of his only sister. He always locks the door of his house while he is out, for fear that the *ilamutu* should come and take away what they want. *Ilamutu* have freedom also towards *fa'e tangata*'s wife from whom they can get bark clothes or mats without permission. But if she is not a good natured woman, they cannot make free with her own property.

Cousins

The *fakafotu* have to observe *tapu* towards *mehikitanga*'s children, too. But the *tapu* in this case is not so strict as towards the *mehikitanga*. According to the explanation given by an old man, cousins may play together in their childhood, but brother's children may not strike sister's children and not touch their head or possessions. On the other hand, sister's children may take what they want away from brother's children and eat the foods they leave over.

Husband and Wife

There is no *tapu* between those who are denoted under the term *mali* each other. Those two persons who are not real husband and wife, may stay in one room together, talking about anything.

Matapule

A woman and her brother's wife may not use clothes, bark cloths, combs, mats and so forth in common. They may beat bark cloth in company and use a beating bat in common. If one were ill and there were no one to nurse, the other may care for her but it is *tapu* to attend her at the time of delivery, and to suckle her baby even if the mother can not nourish it on her own milk.

VI — Actual Behaviour in the Interpersonal Relationship

Variation in the Behaviour

When we ask the Tongan about the kinship behaviour they should observe, they mention so and so, as described in the previous chapter. People are very proud of the custom that a brother should respect his sister, saying "This is *fake Tonga*, Tongan way." As one might suspect, there seems to be a little difference between the norm and the actual behaviour. My interpreter used to say "If a man is properly reared in Tongan way, he has respect for and supports his sister." But the norm has been losing its strictness; a man, once married, will no longer bring his sister food, money or anything she pleases, in preference to his wife.

12

794 to those who are Mormons or who have graduated from one
795 of the Mormon schools in Tonga. The most able students
873 are supported at the University of Hawaii. Others are trained in a wide range of academic and technical subjects at the Church College of Hawaii (now Brigham
[464] Young University - Hawaii). Graduates find the Church, both in Tonga and elsewhere, to be a willing employer.
794 Finally, the Mormon Church is a primary avenue of
795 long-term emigration. Indeed, the majority of Tongans
167 who have emigrated to the United States mainland have done so under the auspices of the Mormon Church. In summary, membership in the Mormon Church opens up prospects that are not available to most Tongans.

794 In addition to employment, educational and emigra-
795 tion opportunities, membership in the Mormon Church
183 provides a justification for ceasing to follow certain patterns of behavior that are associated with anga faka-
[574] Tonga ('Tongan custom'). Mormon congregations, for example, do not have the feasts that are characteristic of the Wesleyan churches. Thus members are relieved of the material burdens and social obligations of congregational feasting. Members of the Mormon Church also tend not to
[602] engage in communal feasting on other occasions. Indeed, it is my impression that members of the Mormon Church are more narrowly involved in kinship reciprocity than members

of other denominations. It seems significant in this regard that Mormon doctrines and congregational practices place considerable emphasis on the individual elementary family. Certainly, there are noticeably fewer multiple-family households among the Mormons in Motulahi (see Table 22). This suggests either that Mormon heads of household do not have the means of supporting more than their own families, or else that having many dependents is not the major stratagem of garnering prestige for them that it is for other Tongans. Mormons also tend to be more open than other Tongans in asserting that traditional elements of rank and privilege should be eliminated. In place of the traditional criteria of status and customary forms of status-behavior, material prosperity and individual achievement are emphasized. In sum, membership in the Mormon Church accords with the pursuit of an individualistic course of upward mobility. However, I am not claiming that people who convert to the Mormon religion do so only in order to pursue such a course. My argument, rather, is that in Tonga an adult's switching affiliation from one denomination to another is an indication of personal re-tooling, just as moving to a different village is an indication of re-tooling; each involves a decision to put oneself in contact with a new set of

associates.[11] That being the case, when a change of residence or of denominational affiliation occurs in circumstances other than marriage, some new strategy of achievement may reasonably be inferred.

Voluntary Associations

The data regarding shifting membership in households, fāmili, and congregations suggest that Tongan villagers avoid engaging in arrangements that commit them to sustained cooperation over a long period of time. This appears to be borne out by the following material. A few years before I came to Tonga, money had been raised in Motulahi to provide a piped deep-well water system for the village, whereas before that people had relied exclusively on stored rain-water and shallow open wells. I found, however, that the piped water system worked only irregularly, owing to ineffective arrangements for priming the pump and clearing blocked pipes. According to my notes, on January 26th 1970 tap water was available in Motulahi for the first time since New Year's Day. Nine days after that, the piped water supply quit again for two

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11 In a paper on the phenomenon of denominational diversity in Tonga (Decktor Korn 1977), I argue that the present success of the Mormon Church in attracting new adherents follows the pattern of other churches in previous years, and is best understood as an instance of Tongans' readiness to welcome the possibility of new stratagems.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

than another. It should be noted, however, that it is unlikely that he would have more than a few villages from which to choose. In other words, the range of options that a person may have is usually less than the number of alternatives that are theoretically possible.

Third, once the decision regarding village of residence is made, the kind of household that a man sets up or enters is not always a matter of choice. The point here is that it is essential that we clearly understand what is meant in saying that a person "adopts" (or "chooses" or "opts for") an "alternative." We may well recognize that there are a number of different ways in which Tongan households are structured, and that there are no rules that specify household affiliation. We might therefore be inclined to say that the individual makes a choice regarding the household that he sets up or enters. But can we really say that a social system presents all men with the alternative of eating caviar, and that a poor man chooses instead to eat clam dip? I would argue that caviar is not a viable option for the poor man, and therefore that it is nonsense to speak of it being a matter of choice. Similarly, I would argue that a Tongan man without any other access to the means of providing for the material needs of his family is not making a choice when he decides to move in with a relative, for he has no real alternative.[17] Thus, in constructing decision models of social structure, it is essential that we distinguish between recognition by an observer that there is a set of various arrangements which are possible in that society, and whether, in fact, there is a range of alternatives open to a person who must act in a given situation. In other words, it does not follow from the fact that an element of social organization is optative that a person is in a position to make a real choice.

Finally, there is a more general point that underlies the preceding one: there is a difference between "making a decision" and "making a choice."[18] For example, when a young Tongan couple marries, they have to make a decision about where they are going to live, for it is not something that is prescribed. Nevertheless, after considering which arrangements (of all the various arrangements that are possible in the society) are available in their situation, it is quite likely that they might come to the conclusion that they have only one live option. Thus, even if a decision is required in a certain situation, there may be no choice—no real choice is made in a situation of "only one choice."

17 In theory, of course, he could choose to abandon his family or choose that they should live as scavengers, but those are definitely not culturally acceptable courses of action in that situation.

18 This distinction is not recognized by Quinn, it seems. What she argues is that "the terms 'decision' and 'choice' are perhaps best reserved for selection among alternatives which requires some active evaluation and calculation on the part of the individual actor" (1975:41). She says nothing of any distinction between the terms, nor do Howard and Ortiz in their paper (1971) on the value of decision-making analysis for the anthropological study of social process.

535 Although these are tau'olunga movements par excellence--variation as
178 well as personal interpretation are the marks of a good tau'olunga.
This small movement inventory of recall of most younger dancers has
585 led to the practice of choreographing the tau'olunga. Choreographed
tau'olunga are recognized as the easiest type of Tongan dance,
because there are usually no more than six short sections to learn.
These are:

1) the entrance into the dance space, which is usually one or two arm motifs such as M.I.c.4. and M.I.c.8. with forward walking steps, M.II.a.4.,
2) the tau or chorus, which is repeated alternately with the several stanzas,
3-5) movements for three (more or less) stanzas,
6) fakataupasi slapping clapping motifs for the last repetition of the tau.

A well choreographed tau'olunga can make a poor dancer appear to be much better than she is because of the varied and appropriate movements taught to her by the choreographer.

Tau'olunga has become more and more popular because it is easy to do and it leaves a wide latitude for personal interpretation--which
[868] can range from grace and beauty to wantonness. Children grow up with the tau'olunga and thus it is not necessary to consciously 'learn'
[189] anything except the sequence of movements. In recent years Tongans have picked up the idea that time is money, and the less they must

535 practice, the better they like it. They prefer to do tau'olunga which
183 requires little practice rather than lakalaka or ma'ulu'ulu which require a great deal.

535 643 The late Queen Salote was a great supporter of all Tongan dance including the tau'olunga. She was one of the first to choreograph tau'olunga with set movements. One of the most famous hiva kakala, Manu 'o Palataise, 'Bird of Paradise,' was composed by Queen Salote
535 643 specifically for tau'olunga. The Queen used tau'olunga as a form of entertainment for dignitaries visiting Tonga. When traveling abroad
648 the Queen often took with her a dancer of tau'olunga to perform for 'cultural' events in other countries. Thus the tau'olunga has become equated with 'Tongan dance' in other countries and with 'entertainment' to the Tongans. The entertainment can vary from a very informal level
535 to a level befitting a head of state. Tau'olunga, like ballroom dancing are forms of entertainment which one can either join or watch. Other Tongan dance genres are faiva--that is, performances that have a deeper meaning than just entertainment. Tau'olunga is classified
535 186 as faiva when 'performance with haka' is meant. However, if faiva is used at a more specific level to mean 'performances which uphold and reflect Tongan traditions,' tau'olunga must be excluded in most
[648] cases. Ma'ulu'ulu and even lakalaka are occasionally used as entertainment for people who are not familiar with Tongan traditions, but to the Tongans these genres have a deeper meaning.

535 The most reknowned choreographers of tau'olunga are the late Queen Salote, the Honorable Ve'ehala, Peni Tutuila, Kafu and his son

423 to the use of land. For every two householders with 'api tukuhau there was a further householder who was sharing land with a relation. The situation with regards to 'api kolo demonstrated the social significance of land still further—a third of the householders were sharing the 'api of relations.

369 [434] [433] Just as no village family could rely entirely on subsistence agriculture, few families in the town could rely entirely on wages. The town's economy, like the traditional peasant economy outlined by Franklin,[18] is labour and not capital intensive, kin relations serve a socio-economic role and there is a close attachment to the land. It 592 [434] would be erroneous to talk of per capita income in Tonga; the important consideration is family income. Although not entirely controlled by the head of the household as chef d'entreprise, the broad direction of spendings earned by members of a family is the concern of all the family, especially so in times of crisis or investment in [514] [515] education. And the families, though nuclear by residence, are extended in terms of mutual recognition of services and obligations.[19]

183 602 369 It would not be fakatonga, the right behaviour in terms of respect within Tongan society, to deny a relation access to land, residence, employment or a share in family success. If these are characteristics of a peasantry, one can only say that they are common to all of Tonga, rural and urban. Town dwellers are inescapably 369 bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely 434 on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional 423 income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they depend on it for food. There would be few established household heads, even the most wealthy and the most "urbanised", who do not have a son or relation on their land or on land acquired through their 592 influence. It is the function of a successful household head to find employment for as many of his family as possible. The labour commitment is total and the basic unit of economic organisation is the family, controlled and directed at least to some extent by the 592 household head.[20] A typical family would endeavour to have some 434 member in paid employment, some on the land and some in the "bazaar" sector of the town's economy—a small grocery shop, in the making of [182] handicrafts and other side-line businesses. This diversity in family employment provides material security in an economy which offers insufficient full wage employment; it also indicates the economic obligations borne by the chef d'entreprise towards his kin.

556 437 [369] [465] It should be clear that everyone in Tonga is to some extent involved in a money economy, the town dweller somewhat more than the villager but this has not yet led to any noticeable individualisation. There is little evidence of individuals trying to opt out of reciprocal

794 tions because of his prestige and relatively high educational attainments.

554 The men holding these leadership positions work their gardens, fish, and generally perform the tasks befitting all men of their ages. There are no special insignias that indicate position within the community, but high rank is evidenced in the order of seating at any formal occasion such as feasts or kava ceremonies.

The Village Church: A Focus of Village Life

794 626 [795] As mentioned earlier all persons in Puke are members of the Free Wesleyan Church except for the members of one household. The social pressure on this nonconforming family is sufficient to force its participation in the Free Wesleyan Church as well as in the church of their choice, the Church of Tonga. They participate in the village church by contributing an equitable share in money and goods and by taking part in some of the less formal church activities such as choir. Strong denominational preference by the villagers is reinforced by strong pronouncements by village leadership indicating that persons of other denominations are unwelcome and unlikely to receive land on the noble's estate.

794 183 554 [626] Frequent church attendance, generous financial support and position within the church are regarded by Tongans as the marks of a "good man". There are social and economic rewards for the man who meets these criteria; and for the man who does not there awaits gossip and social censure. For instance, an individual's relationship with the church may determine whether or not he receives land, whether or not he is re-

794 183 554 garded highly by others, and even whether or not he is regarded as a good marriage prospect.

794 554 Because of the importance of the Church in Tongan villages and in the larger society, most men try to achieve position within it. In [793] [875] Puke there is no ordained minister but fourteen of the village men are lay preachers (tangata malanga); one of these lay ministers acts as [565] Sunday school teacher. The recognized head of the village church is the noble, who is also one of the lay preachers.

The church reflects several important aspects of village life and the seating arrangement as shown in Figure 1A illustrates several principles of Tongan behavior. Village leaders are seated close to the pulpit, the noble is seated so that he is above and separated from the rest of the congregation, and the age and sex divisions are also apparent.

794 793 554 574 There are several indications of the importance of the church in the community. The congregation of the Puke church attempts to have an ordained minister come and deliver a sermon at least once a month. On such an occasion the visiting minister receives treatment appropriate [276] to a noble. Kava is prepared for him prior to the church service and a feast contributed to by most members of the community is held after the service. His advice and comments on church affairs, politics, technology, and any other subject are closely attended and almost always accepted as the best available.

794 Another indication of the importance of the church is its schedule of activities and the fact that all activities are well attended. Below I have presented the usual weekly church schedule, which does not include

1A. [See p. 34--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

602 554 (114) by behavior or not.

Below I have listed the kinship dyads and described the ideal behavior for each dyad as it exists in the conscious model. The kin terms are defined and discussed in Chapter III.

602 554 183 431 437

Fa'e-Tama: A woman should treat those she refers to as tama in a protective and loving manner; she should look after their physical and emotional needs with only tama's well-being in mind. In return tama should behave in a loving and respectful manner toward fa'e. Women should not punish tama with more than mild physical abuse. Fa'e is of lower rank than tama and the flow of goods should be from fa'e to tama.

Fa'e Tangata-'Ilamutu: 'Ilamutu has an almost unrestrained access to the goods and services controlled by fa'e tangata, and may act in a demeaning and overbearing manner toward him. Fa'e tangata should submit to the demands of 'ilamutu. Fa'e tangata is of lower rank than 'ilamutu and the flow of goods and services should be from fa'e tangata to 'ilamutu.

Tamai-Foha: Tamai is responsible for the moral welfare and direction of foha; toward that end he demands respect and obedience of foha. This relationship is marked by several prohibitions which indicate a discouragement of familiarity between the principals. Foha cannot wear the clothing of tamai, cannot use his personal possessions, must not eat from the same serving of food, nor sleep on tamai's bed. Foha should not stand to speak to a tamai who is sitting, and should not interrupt tamai while he is speaking to others. The flow of goods and services should be from foha to tamai.

(784)

602 554 183 431 437 Tamai-'Ofefine: This relationship is generally the same as tamai-foha except tamai should be less severe toward 'ofefine than toward foha. The flow of goods and services should be from 'ofefine to tamai.

Mehekitanga-Fakafotu: Mehekitanga should always be shown respect; she is ego's highest ranking relative. Mehekitanga is responsible for teaching fakafotu respect and appropriate Tongan custom. Familiarity is strongly discouraged between fakafotu and mehekitanga. Any time that fakafotu catches fish, harvests his garden, or kills a pig, he should give mehekitanga a portion. The flow of goods and services, then, is from fakafotu to mahekitanga.

Tokoua-Tokoua: This relationship is more complicated than other kin dyads because ego's tokoua may be either above him or below him in rank. The key to ego's relationship with his tokoua is the relative rank of the connecting, consanguineal link so that tokoua related patrilaterally are higher ranking than ego, and those related matrilaterally are of lower rank than ego.

602 554 593 183 431 439 Ego should defer to FZC and FBC, and MSC and MBC should defer to ego. Tokoua of the same parents are ranked relative to each other according to age, but the ideal flow of goods and services within the sibling group is balanced. Younger siblings give to older siblings because of relative rank but older siblings are obligated to assist younger siblings also. In this relationship, then, the direction specified for material flow is from matrilateral tokoua to ego to patrilateral tokoua.

602 554 183 431 437 [784] Tuofefine-Tuonga'ane: Tuonga'ane must show respect toward his tuofefine and several prohibitions exist in this avoidance relationship. Tuonga'ane cannot sleep in the same house as their tuofefine, they cannot speak of sexulaly-related matters, and tuonga'ane and tuofefine should not walk or talk alone together. Physical affection should not [593] be present in this relationship. Boys and men are responsible for the welfare of the sisters and should willingly assist them with labor and goods. So the flow of goods, then, is from tuonga'ane to tuofefine.

Kui-Mokopuna: This should be a relationship of mutual understanding and affection. There are no special restrictions or avoidances, and no direction of reciprocity is specified.

602 554 431 437 This scheme of reciprocity as set forth in the conscious model is in one sense not reciprocity at all. That is, if only the flow of goods and services between individuals is considered, the flow is very much in a one-way direction. However, if the entire kindred of each ego is considered, a balance emerges where at least in theory ego would have as many persons to receive from as to give to. In the conscious model of kin reciprocity, then, ego is the center of an activity system in which decisions concerning the flow of goods and services are ideally made according to ego's kinship rank relative to other individuals within 128 the system. Now I will present the patterns of behavior actually present within that system by using the data recorded in observing the exchanges of goods and in the exchanges of children.

Comparison of Ideals and Behavior

602 431 437 The conscious model pertains only to the flow of goods between kinsmen, and in the sample of exchange events involving material items, sample B, there are 267 events in which exact genealogical information could be recorded. This sample is presented in Table 18.A The adoption [597] transactions provide another sample of 81 exchange events. In Table 19 B A both samples are presented in percentage figures to facilitate comparison.

128 In Table 19 each kin dyad is presented and the direction of flow of goods and children is indicated. Where (I) appears in the table, it marks the ideal direction of exchange.

Now I want to discuss each dyad in turn and will do so by referring to the number corresponding to the dyad in Table 19. In dyad number one 602 431 437 the flow of goods is predominantly in the ideal direction, but all adop- 183 597 tion transactions involving this relationship are in the opposing direction. For the adoption transactions the demographic fact that the tama in these transactions would be the only ones in possession of young children almost precludes exchange of children in the ideal direction.

In dyad number two which is the 'MB'-'ZC' relationship, there is a lower frequency than one would expect, yet this relationship is one in which exchange in the ideal direction is of paramount importance in the conscious model. The conscious model does not specify number but it does seem to imply a high frequency. The ideal direction of exchange does not predominate in a comparison with the opposing direction. The cases of adoption involving this relationship are too few to come to any conclusion except to note that this dyad is not frequently involved

A [See pp. 108-110--Analyst] B [See pp. 111-112--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 113]

TABLE 19

Summary of Comparison of Conscious Model with Exchange Behavior*

Dyad and Direction		Frequency of Material Exchanges	Frequency of Adoption Transactions	Total for Dyad (Material)	Total for Dyad (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Adoptions)
1. Fa'e - Tama	(I)**	7	0	8	34	+	+
Tama - Fa'e		12	34				
2. Fa'e Tangata - 'Ilamutu	(I)	4	1	7	1	-	+
'Ilamutu - Fa'e Tangata		4	0				
3. Foha - Tamai	(I)	4	0	12	0	-	0
Tamai - Foha		7	0				
4. 'Ofefine - Tamai	(I)	6	0	14	0	-	0
Tamai - 'Ofefine		8	0				
5. Fakafotu - Mehekitange	(I)	1	5	3	5	0	+
Mehekitange - Fakafotu		1	0				
6. Tokoua - Tokoua (Real)		18	24	18	24	0	0
" " (Paternal)		6	0				
" " (Maternal)	(I)	4	3	10	3	-	+
7. Tuonga'ane - Tuofefine	(I)	11	24	26	33	-	+
Tuofefine - Tuonga'ane		15	9				

602 4321 1983 559

TABLE 19 (Continued)

Summary of Comparison of Conscious Model with Exchange Behavior*

Dyad and Direction	Frequency of Material Exchanges	Frequencey of Adoption Transactions	Total for Dyad (Material)	Total for Dyad (Adoptions)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Adoptions)
8. Kui-Mokopuna	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mokopuna-Kui	1	0				

* All figures in percentages. Frequency based on 267 material exchanges and 81 adoption transactions.
** (I) indicates ideal model.

602
431
.183
S97

73: Morton E-5 (1970-1971) 1977 009 Tonga 009 Puke

602
431
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in adoption.

Dyad three is another instance where the ideal flow of goods does not predominate. No adoption transactions involved principals in this relationship. With a slightly higher frequency of exchange, dyad number four is very similar to dyad three.

Dyad five is another relationship where a high frequency of exchange is implied by the conscious model but is not present in the behavior pattern. The flow of goods appears to be balanced in this relationship. The flow of children in the adoption transactions does conform to the direction specified in the ideal model, with 5 percent of adoptees being obtained from 'BC' and none being obtained from 'FZ'.

Transactions transpiring between siblings of the same sex are presented in dyad six, and the exchange of goods again indicates that the conscious model is not being followed. In the adoption sample, 3 percent of the adoptees were obtained from matrilateral cousins and none were obtained from patrilateral cousins; this does conform to the conscious model. Direction of exchange is not specified for children of the same parents and sex.

Again in dyad seven the direction of exchange of goods does not conform to the conscious model. However, in the adoption transactions the conformity of behavior to the specifications of the conscious model is better. In dyad nine no direction is specified and there is a low frequency of exchange.

In Table 20 all exchanges are recorded as to whether or not they conform to the conscious model. Overall the pattern of behavior does

A. [See p. 114--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115]

602
431
437
183
597

TABLE 20

Conformity and Non-Conformity to Conscious Model by Percent

	Conforms	Does Not Conform	Not Specified*	Total
Goods	37	43	20	100
Children	33	43	24	100

* Direction not specified in the conscious model of kinship reciprocity.

602 431 437 183 597 [121] not conform to the direction of flow specified by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. It is safe to say that knowledge of the conscious model does not allow correct prediction of exchange behavior. This means, then, that the conscious model considered alone improperly describes kinship reciprocity.

602 431 437 593 What can the behavioral pattern tell us about kinship that is in contradistinction to the conscious model and what can it tell us about kinship? The behavioral pattern indicates that a large amount of exchange is taking place between persons related as parent and child or as siblings. In the sample of exchanges of goods 50 percent of the transactions involved principals who stood in one of these two relationships. [597] In the sample of adoptions 89 percent of all transactions were carried out between principals who were either parent and child or siblings. As discussed here the classificatory relationships are not included; therefore, a very small proportion of kinsmen are accounting for a high proportion of exchanges.

This relativly small group of kinsmen would roughly be about nine individuals. I am calculating this figure by considering that Tongan [162] [594] women tend to have seven children (Fiefia 1968: 18), and adding to that the two parents each individual would have, the average nuclear family would be nine persons. This is the group within which there is a high level of exchange. For each ego nine kinsmen would be at maximum about 10 percent of his total kinsmen, considering that each ego knows of and acknowledges kinship with at least ninety to one hundred kinsmen.

592 594 As described in Chapter III the Tongan household usually consists

597 young woman just starting or in the midst of her childbearing years. Or tama could also be a man with a young wife. The same would hold true for other dyads with cross-generation principals like 'BC'-'FZ'. Given the adoptees are usually less than two years of age it would not he expected that middle-aged or old women would be donating adoptees to adopting parents.

Concerning Conscious Models

121 Conscious models in general reflect patterns of behavior with varying degrees of accuracy. To illustrate this assertion, I will compare two conscious models--the Tongan model of marriage with the Tongan model of kinship reciprocity. The model of marriage or at least certain aspects of it are followed closely in terms of behavior. For instance, the marriage model contains these principles: Two people cannot marry if they are kinsmen; a marriage must be condoned by both the groom's parents and the bride's parents; the marriage must be legally recognized and given religious approval by the church. Some of these principles are disregarded under penalty of law, i.e., it is illegal for persons to live together as man and wife if they are kinsmen or if their marriage has not been registered by the government. Further punishment is provided by the fact that children born of an unregistered marriage are illegitimate and, therefore, ineligible to inherit.

183 582 581 (673) (684) (656) (848) (428)

585 582 626 183 If parents disapprove of the marriage or if the marriage is not recognized by the church, the couple probably would be subjected to strong social sanction in the form of gossip or even social ostracism

585
582 in some situations.
626
183 Failure to conform to the conscious model of marriage results in strong legal and social sanctions, and this is a good reason for a high degree of conformity between the marriage model and marriage behavior.
602 In contrast, the conscious model of kinship reciprocity is not enforced
626 by strong sanctions. It seems that conscious models, of themselves,
121 carry no power or authority over the behavior within their respective activity system, rather sanctions, if present, are imposed from without. Conscious models only tell how something ought to be done; they do not establish and administer the penalty for being wrong.

Some conscious models may not function to order empirical phenomena at all. Rather, they provide a conceptual scheme to which only ideas, and not "facts" an be related. Fit or conformity between a conscious model and behavior can, after all, be determined by observation from different perspectives and levels of reality. My Tongan informants thought
[602 829] that exchange between kinsmen proceeded in the manner indicated by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Perhaps the Tongans with their understanding of their own culture are able to "see" that the conscious model is working regardless of the outcome of exchange. Perhaps the conscious model is only supposed to be followed in certain situations which were left unspecified and, therefore, unrecorded.

Possibly a productive way to view conscious models would be to consider them as single components of larger decision-making models. For instance, the Tongan activity system of exchange has a decision-making model which possibly includes the conscious model plus such variables as

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

they were capable of intensive labour to supply their needs. To the missionaries, however, all idleness was a breeding ground for sin and crime, and they determined to put an end to it. A reflection of this sentiment may be seen in Section 3 which exhorts the chiefs to show love to the people under them but to require them to be industrious and perform their duties to the government and to the chiefs. It also states that the chief should apportion land to the people, sufficient to enable them to procure the necessities of life and support a family. And in order to safeguard the gardens, provision was made to that effect in Section 5 which prohibited anyone to allow his pigs to run loose and damage other people's gardens.

Sale of rum and other spirits to the Tongans was a cause of constant worry to the missionaries. One of the later missionaries wrote to the General Secretary of the mission on the subject. 'What will be said when a Tonga man drinks 3 bottles of strong spirit in one day and laughs at it and says he did not take enough to make himself drunk, and yet this is the case. Will not the curse of the Holy one be upon those Europeans who thus bring the cup of death to this (sic) . . . islanders' (Baker to Eggleston, 18 Dec. 1861, Baker 1860-79). Some years later, when one of King George's sons died, the missionaries did not hesitate to attribute his death to excessive drinking. The prohibition of the sale of hard liquor by the new laws and its being punishable by 'a fine to the King of Twenty Five Dollars'[2] and a liability 'to have the spirits taken from him', was obviously a reflection of the missionaries' sentiment.

The missionaries' attitude to heathen customs and traditions (especially those which had any religious connection) was one of uncompromising intolerance. They identified Christianity with 'civilisation' and the latter with the habits and customs of an English town or village, and anything contrary to them, such as Tongan customs and traditions, was uncivilised or unchristian, and therefore ought to be destroyed. Bishop Blanc (1934:38) asserts that 'It seemed to be the aim and object of the former [Wesleyan missionaries] to instill into the minds of the people the idea that all pleasures were sinful. To this end they prohibited,

[2] This was a Spanish dollar and it was worth four shillings sterling.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

of the Protestant mission and it flouted some of the laws formulated by King George under Wesleyan influence. The priests deplored the blanket prohibition of all heathen customs in the 1850 Code of Laws.

It remains true that the Roman Catholic priests showed greater tolerance towards Tongan traditional culture, but their motives for doing so were not clear. It is difficult to decide whether they were prompted by a genuine understanding and appreciation of Tongan traditions or were more tolerant on account of their Gallic Catholic background, which was relatively free of puritanical austerity, or whether they were primarily motivated by a desire to undermine the work of the Methodist missionaries. The last may well have been the case, since in other groups where Roman Catholics were predominant their priests did not show the same tolerance as was shown in Tonga. The Roman Catholic mission at the Gambier Islands was an example of this.

The Wesleyans, however, had only one interpretation and viewed the priests' attitude on these matters as a deliberate attempt to entice away their followers. One missionary wrote in 1863:

> Of late Popery has been making desperate efforts in this part of the Circuit. They have been practising the old heathen games, thinking that, although they could not bring over the people by persuasion, or buy them with presents, they might attract them with these games. The Gospel, however, still triumphs. The games had not the effect expected. The people say, 'if this is religion, what need had we of the Gospel? Did not we do these things when we were yet heathen?' (*W-M Mag.*, 1864:270)

A year later another missionary wrote that the French priests had been breaking the Sabbath by assembling the people to sing songs and play different games on the Catholic mission premises 'as part of the religion, to keep them [the people] out of mischief' (*W-M Mag.*, 1865:175).

The continuing opposition of the priests and their attempts to involve French men-of-war in their political agitation only strengthened anti-Catholic and anti-French sentiments, particularly among the chiefs, who were jealous of any foreign interference in their country. These experiences helped to deepen King George's conviction that there was a tremendous need to establish a govern-

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

When the 1862 Code was promulgated the missionaries received it with rather mixed feelings. On the one hand they claimed it to be the direct result of the work of the mission.

> The year 1862 [said the Tonga Circuit Report], is to be immortalized in the annals of Tonga, and the 4th day of June is to be kept for ever as a day of public rejoicing being the date of the signing of the Magna Charta of Tonga. King George has long been known and styled 'the Alfred' of the Friendly Islands; and truly his great desire seems to be to give his people a code of just Laws, and establish among them a wise and popular administration. This is one glorious consequence of a faithful acceptance of Christianity. (*Wesleyan Missionary Reports*, 1863:35)

One missionary wrote enthusiastically, 'New life and thoughts are arising . . . —liberty is proclaimed—on the 1st of January [1863] the Tongan flag will not wave over a slave that day—Such is the glorious success of the Gospel . . .' (Baker to Eggleston, 19 Dec. 1862, Baker 1860-79).

On the other hand, there were misgivings felt by the missionaries about certain aspects of the Code and their probable consequences. They were fearful of a general resurgence of heathen customs and traditions, which for decades they had laboured unceasingly to eradicate, as a result of the emancipation of the people from the power of the chiefs, and also the dropping of the clauses making these customs and practices illegal. In the years that followed directly after the promulgation of the new Code, they claimed that the unfortunate effects which they had predicted were in fact taking place. They accused the government of yielding to the pressure of English precedent in allowing matters such as fornication to go unpunished. They claimed that there were many who at first interpreted this move as a legalisation of sin and a public expression of the will of the King and chiefs regarding indulgence in vice. 'Many of the heathen games', they lamented, 'though given up [were] not positively prohibited by law, and the natural tendency of the unconverted [was] to revive long gone usages' (*RAWMMS* 1866:25). The obnoxiousness of the situation for the missionaries may be seen in the following passage from the annual report of the mission for the year ending April 1863:

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

If there is no widow the land passes to the deceased holder's eldest son, or if he is also dead to his eldest son, and if there is no male heir through the eldest son then the land passes to the next eldest son or his male heir and so on. If there is no heir through the sons an unmarried daughter may hold the land for life, or until she marries or is proved in the Land Court to have committed fornication. Several unmarried daughters may hold jointly. If there are no daughters the succession passes to the deceased holder's brothers and their sons, or failing these, to the brothers of the deceased holder's father and their male heirs. No person may inherit land if he already holds an allotment of the same kind as that to which he is entitled as heir, but where the heir is a son or grandson of the deceased holder and already has land he may choose between his own allotment and the inherited allotment. Should there be no heirs the land reverts to the estate-holder or the government, depending on the type of estate. Only legitimate sons may inherit, and only in very rare cases is an allotment divided between two heirs. These rules of inheritance do not necessarily follow Tongan custom exactly. For instance, succession to an allotment cannot now be traced through a female, and the son of a daughter of a deceased holder has no claim to the land of his mother's father, although succession to an hereditary estate can be claimed through females. In practice, however, where there are no heirs through males the Minister and estate-holders usually allocate the land to the nearest other relative. A study of land acquisition in two villages showed that in one an allotment had passed from a widow to her brother's son, there being no claimant from her husband's family, while in the other, six of the forty-eight landholders interviewed had gained their allotments from their mothers' relatives.

With large families common it is obvious that many men will not be able to inherit land, and for them the only way of obtaining an allotment is to acquire one that is vacant. This has not been easy, however, over the last two or more decades. In the more densely populated parts of Tonga all allotments have been occupied for some time, while in other districts the survey and subdivision of the land has not kept pace with the growing number of taxpayers. Up till 1957 only 2,564 eight-and-a-quarter-acre allotments had been marked out, although there were then about 12,000 taxpayers, and in the less densely settled areas where allotments should have been available much of the land remained in customary holdings of about ten to thirty acres (similar to those shown in the 1910 map for Niutoua in Figure 1).[A]

[A] [See Category 423, p. 109--Analyst.]

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

The foundation of the reforms which transformed the old order lay in the land tenure system initiated by Tupou I, and which has remained largely unchanged since 1891. The major feature of this system is the granting and inheritance of land solely on an individual basis. Every Tongan male, aged 16 and over (at 16, Tongan males legally become taxpayers), is entitled to not more than 8¼ acres of bush land, called a tax allotment, and a small town allotment on which to build a house. The hereditary tax and town allotments pass from father to eldest son. Legally defined annual rents or tax allotments to be paid either to the government or noble landlords are nominal, and these are often neither collected nor paid by the small-holder. No land in Tonga can be sold to foreigners, but leasing is permitted under strict government control. This individualized land tenure system served to transfer the prerogative of land distribution from local chiefs and lineage heads of local descent groups in the old order to the monarchical government.

Overlaying this prospective patch-work division of Tongan society into family farms were the grants of landed estates or *tofi'a* to selected hereditary chiefly lines of the old order, constituted as a nobility. In contrast, the majority of pre-Tupou chiefs still informally pass on their titles, which now have only ceremonial or ritual significance, but they have effectively been reduced to the same legal and social status as all other small-holding farmers.

From the end of Tupou I's reign to the present, nobles as landlords have been legally restrained in their control of both the people and the lands of their estates. They cannot arbitrarily control the rents, services, or tenure of their small-holding tenants. They can hold undistributed land on their estates for themselves and can select holders in the distribution of unallocated land, but even this latter prerogative is mediated by the final approval of the Minister of Lands. Given land shortage, the import of the noble's personal distribution of available holdings is diminishing, but also as a result, this prerogative has been the focus for much of the traditional and current abuse of the nobility's rights in control of its estates (in the form of receiving bribes and services outside the law). Land which is not divided into hereditary noble *tofi'a* is either Crown estates or the personal estates of the King and Royal Family.

Land practice has never scrupulously followed the definition of the legal provisions, either when land was more plentiful or now that land is scarce. For instance, several noble landlords have thus far enjoyed considerable traditional prestige among the people of their estates which has given them more actual control of their estates than the law grants them. Also, the distribution and management of individual holdings has in general occurred in the context of broader kin networks and decision-making processes than might be expected from the ideal distribution and control of land in independent nuclear family units, as suggested by the legal definition of land tenure (see Marcus, 1975a). Nonetheless, the legal provisions of land tenure have shaped

361 659 423 one-eighth to 15 acres instead of the customary town and bush allotment. The scheme has met with only moderate success.

361 178 241 The shift from dispersed to nucleated settlement has led to the transfer of many fruit trees and other specialty crops, such as medicinal herbs, kava, and sugar cane, to the dooryard gardens on the town allotments.

563 Ethnic Composition

[162] Tonga, unlike most Pacific Island areas, has never had a large Asian or other foreign component. Census figures show the Tongan component representing over 98 percent of the total population and over 97 percent of the population [423] on Tongatapu (Table 8). A few non-Tongans have leasehold rights to land, but only Tongans have the legal right to tenure on the traditional town and bush allotments to which this study is directed.

162 Age-Sex Structure

[464] Like most countries with high population growth rates, the Tongan population has a very high proportion of young people, many of whom are not gainfully employed. In 1966, 60 percent of the population was under 21, slightly more 000 than in 1956. As these people begin families and look for employment either as farmers or wage earners, more pressure will come to bear on the present agricultural system.

571 602 183 Social Structure

Tongan social structure is permeated by countless

563 162 Table 8. Ethnic components of Tonga and Tongatapu (1966 only) population; and the relative increase.

	1939	1956	1966		Tonga
	Tonga	Tonga	Tongatapu	Tonga	1939-1966
	Pop.	Pop.	Pop.	Pop.	% increase
Tongans	32,862	55,156	46,818	76,121	+132
Europeans	400	277	364	402	+ 1
Part-Europeans	441	604	423	512	+ 16
All Others	427	801	315	394	- 8
TOTAL	34,130	56,838	47,920	77,429	-

Sources: Toupouniua, 1958:42; Fiefia, 1968:37-42.

571 602 183 social and kinship relationships and institutionalized procedures, which, if not fulfilled or adhered to, in the strictest Tongan sense, can result in loss of prestige, favor, or effectiveness within one's social or economic sphere. By fulfilling one's social obligations, or as Tongans say, by being faka-Tonga (of Tongan nature), an individual keeps on good terms with his family, his village, his pastor, the traditional ruling class, and the rest of the community group. Consequently when he needs assistance in the form of labor, money, food for ceremonial occasions, or even land, if he has been faka-Tonga, other parties will be willing to fulfill their obligations to him. These social relationships are particularly important in Tonga,

571 602 476

/30 cont./

181 177 nature (money, tools, clothing, food), besides the limited transmission of knowledge by Tongans in the village schools (partly by white persons in the colleges) and the not fully efficient health [538] [207] service. The only literature published in the Tongan language is purely ecclesiastical, and there is no Tongan radio service. The modern European world which, with its characteristics, its wants and objectives, is somewhat complicated, open and not amenable to simple answers even for Europeans, must always remain to a certain extent alien and unintelligible to the Tongan, not only because his disposition is, in part, of an entirely different nature, but also because he is offered only disconnected, isolated parts [of the whole [829] picture]. The latter probably give most Tongans the idea that "European" means first and foremost: /31/ being clean, well-to-do, [183] knowing a lot and being able to do a lot. This is the ideal the islanders more or less consciously strive for; however, they do not do so uncritically, for by their conduct and by their words, for example, they emphasize, at least on the small islands, that they are proud of not being as attached to money as are the white people.

157 156 177 Besides the mass of Tongans to whom the character traits described in the preceding section apply, there is also a minority of extreme, highly Europeanized types, a few of whom may probably be best explained by the following examples:

1. Tongan T., 41 years old, the son of a chief on Tongatapu. College education there; visit to Fiji; military training in New Zealand. Regarded as matapule. (62)

[565]

62. The matapule are members of a once highly privileged noble class; in the narrower sense, attendants to a titled chief in special ceremonial services.

Was occupied at the Tonga court, among other things as chauffeur. Took a "vacation" and has been living on Nomuka for several months.

/129 cont./

342 178 179 [435] [183] 3750 German marks) to build a European-style house with a small veranda. For most of the natives this is a goal worth striving for; there are only a few today who, for their pleasure in the traditional, will build themselves a "typical Tongan house" with great care and without using nails. Many have "modernized" the old type with the new building material. Since a coconut-leaf roof quickly rots under the climatic conditions, and must be renewed every two or three years, people still try to provide themselves, for example, with corrugated metal to cover their roofs, just as they like to cover the walls of their houses with /130/ it or, even better, with boards. At the same time they do not simplify the ground plan by straightening the narrow sides, but go to great trouble to construct the traditional house shape with the rounded ends by using bulky pieces of corrugated metal and wooden boards. In a house covered with corrugated metal it can be quite uncomfortable under the hot sun, especially if the owner has not shaded the roof with a cover of tapa or wooden boards; in this way, some natives have developed heart trouble, for example. However, the Tongans would rather suffer under such discomforts and know that they are thereby relieved of house-building worries for many years. These "modernized" Tongan houses, as well as the European-type rectangular constructions (of corrugated metal and wood) with or without veranda, regarded by the natives as something special and as the "better dwelling," are usually 342 356 lived in, after they are finished, until they collapse. Damaged parts of walls and roof are seldom repaired, and almost never are they given a new coat of paint, although paint is available in the Archipelago. The weatherbeaten, gray, rusting, and, in part, collapsing buildings resemble those of the slums on the outskirts of some 342 European cities. Yet the oldest of these houses are today at least 50 years old (thanks to the very good material that was still provided

/239 cont./

463 tailor (seamstress) and hair-stylist are occupations carried on only in the administrative and business centers of Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu), Pangai (Lifuka) and Neiafu (Vava'u); the rest are represented on the small islands of the Archipelago. Many members of these professions also own plantations and cultivate them as far as they are able.

463 868 In the skilled trades there is no systematic instruction even today. The young Tongan who is interested in a certain activity takes part in the work wherever he feels he can learn something, until he feels confident enough to carry out the work independently and his /competence is/ acknowledged by the community. Natives of the smaller islands who wish to become carpenters, for instance, prefer to go to the chief towns of the Archipelago to perfect their skill. (638)

638. The carpenter and blacksmith Vilingia on Nomuka, for example, even traveled to Fiji where he received systematic training.

463 874 Clergymen, teachers and physicians are given systematic training, the two former in special seminaries on the main island (more seldom in Australia or New Zealand), the latter at the Central Medical School /cited in English/ in Fiji. Employees in the administration are also systematically trained if it seems necessary (for instance, telegraph service).

463 183 178 Whereas in ancient Tonga the performance of duty towards the chiefs was implicit in the idea of a vocation, a present-day vocation carries with it the idea of achievement for the benefit of the doer himself and for all strata of the population. The person who practices a profession is no longer directly dependent on the

463 465 198 nobility. In place of work that was acknowledged through gifts or was unrewarded, there is now payment for most professional activity. All Tongans in the service of the government receive fixed salaries